

JPRS-UPA-89-047  
27 JULY 1989



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# ***JPRS Report***

# **Soviet Union**

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***Political Affairs***

# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-89-047

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27 JULY 1989

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### Status, Rights of Deputies Examined

18001210 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian  
10 Jun 89 p 3

[Article by Colonel Yu. Koltsov, USSR people's deputy from Kerchinskiy Territorial Election District: "'Regarding the Question of Status..."]

[Text] Despite the diversity of opinion voiced at the Congress, there are issues about which the majority of USSR people's deputies agree. This was noted with a certain degree of surprise by persons analyzing the results of the first survey of delegates. In one case 92 percent of the deputies shared the same opinion. The question concerned status.

Why are we, the deputies, so unanimous on this point? Because until this time our rights and duties have not been determined by law. The law presently in force on the status of USSR people's deputies does not contain any clear notion of what a USSR people's deputy is.

As became evident even before the Congress, in a number of places the deputies came up against the ironies of having separate officials in the executive committees of the local soviets. It is not difficult to guess where the irony will lie if the deputies return from the Congress without the changes that are necessary incorporated into law.

It will be all the more disappointing in view of the fact that fairly frequent mention was made on the subject of deputy status in the press on the eve of the Congress. Moreover, we arrived here with numerous proposals. USSR People's Deputy A. Nazarenko (Dnepropetrovsk) and Deputy A. Sebentsov (Moscow) have worked out alternative versions of the new law on deputy status.

A majority of the comrades want to depart from the stated contents of the law's provisions to increase the effectiveness of the deputies' work. In my judgment a number of new and constructive ideas have been advanced.

One of them deals with eliminating what I might call a certain ambiguity in the position. The situation is paradoxical. A deputy in the USSR Supreme Soviet has the right to a deciding vote at the very summit of the legal process, yet he is deprived of such a right at any session of local soviets within the territory of his election district. It is no secret that certain executive committees of local soviets have found it easy to put the Supreme Soviet deputy "in his place."

I know that this proposal has its opponents. Some deputies contend that it is not worth while getting tied down by the activities of the local soviets, and even less so to assume responsibilities for decisions reached by the local soviets. Such an attitude would deter the USSR people's deputy from active and full-fledged participation as a deputy on the local scene.

As every deputy knows, however, most of the issues posed by the electorate require solutions in coordination with local bodies, whether they pertain to social, economic, or legal problems. And there is no getting away from them, it is all the more impossible to escape from them for the reason that there has been no legal differentiation of the proper functions of the people's deputies at the various levels. Meanwhile, any voter has the right to turn to me, as a USSR people's deputy, with a question concerning roof repair, obtaining construction materials, or securing a pension, believing the matter will be handled more expeditiously. Moreover, it is unethical to put off such matters or for a deputy to leave it for other authorities when it comes, for example, to receiving elderly people, labor and war veterans, or persons placed on reserve upon a cutback in the Armed Forces.

It is true, one deputy from Estonia explained why his constituents were not coming to see him on personal matters while the congress was in session by saying he had come to an agreement with them, even before the elections, that he was going to be too busy for the most part with work "at the top."

I believe it is necessary for a USSR people's deputy to be in a position to have close, lively contact with the local soviets for yet another reason. He should determine the position he is going to take in discussing new legislation with due regard for the opinions of the voters. This can be done most easily if the law in draft form is discussed in advance at a meeting of one of the local soviets in his district.

A USSR people's deputy should have the right to use one of the local soviets in his district as a collection center for the suggestions and comments of his constituents regarding any specific draft of new legislation. The decisions reached after reviewing the draft at a session of this soviet would be used by the deputy in further work on the law.

This kind of operation of local soviets is to a certain extent analogous to holding local referendums. One might even ask why hold a referendum (the legal status of which has still not been determined) if it is possible to devote a session of the soviet to the matter under study?

The approach described was used on one particular occasion in the Crimea on 19 April of this year when a session of the oblast soviet reviewed the question of building a nuclear electric power plant in the Crimea. A resolution was adopted saying that construction of the AES must be brought to a halt, and that the site should be converted into an educational center. Since the deputies of the oblast soviet reflected the opinion of the local voters, the decisions reached could be regarded as results of an oblast-wide referendum.

For this reason the draft of the new law on the status of deputies contains a provision stipulating the right of USSR people's deputies to a deciding vote when participating in the work of lower-ranking soviets. It further calls for engaging local soviets situated within the voting district to review drafts of new legislation.

These two weighty innovations serve to supplement two more frequently heard proposals that have also to do with the work of the local soviets. One of them provides a USSR people's deputy the right to halt actions resulting from a decision reached by local soviet executive committees within the voting district for a period of up to 10 full days. During this period it might be possible to reverse a decision of the executive committee, for example, regarding clearing land for the site of a garage. The second proposal accords a USSR people's deputy the right to initiate the recall of deputies of local soviets who have performed their official duties unsatisfactorily.

The question of procedures for recalling USSR people's deputies themselves, who have been elected from territorial districts or national territorial districts, is a rather difficult one. The recall of selected persons from public organizations of the USSR people's deputies for ineffectiveness in the performance of their official duties is, in my judgment, generally problematical, although it is dealt with under Article 107 of the Constitution.

A rather large number of proposals made by USSR people's deputies have to do with providing support for our work. Provisions were proposed, for example, allowing each deputy to engage up to 10 subordinates for a certain length of time with mid-level remuneration from state budget funds. Other versions provide for establishing a special fund of the USSR Supreme Soviet from which a USSR people's deputy would be able to requisition funds to pay for the work of his staff, the use of personal computers, or obtaining legal or other kinds of special, independent expertise.

Certain specialists in the secretariat of the USSR Supreme Soviet consider the latter proposals controversial, citing the fact that public opinion is inclined to keep the present management structure as it is, and asserting that the public will react negatively to the idea of creating a staff of secretaries and specialists under each USSR people's deputy. The fact must be taken into consideration, however, that proposals are now being made by the cooperatives to the USSR people's deputies to provide financial support for the operations of the deputies. And why? So that the deputies, for their part, may provide "political support" for the activities of the cooperatives.

In weighing proposals for the draft legislation on the status of people's deputies therefore, I believe it is necessary to determine more precisely the position of a people's deputy: Whether he is to be a deputy who is merely a public figure or whether he is to have the support of the state budget, exclusive of occasional

contributions "from the side." In any event, it is clear that the independence of the USSR people's deputy should be preserved; for the effectiveness of his work depends on it. Presumably, funds from the state budget are necessary to maintain the activities of the deputy.

In debating the various matters before the Congress, we, the USSR people's deputies, keep returning to the real differences that exist between the rights of USSR people's deputies selected as members of the USSR Supreme Soviet, its commissions or committees, and those who have not been chosen to participate in these bodies. An equitable decision on the rights of deputies remains to be found out in the course of efforts by the USSR Supreme Soviet to draft of the new law on the status of USSR people's deputies together with the further deliberations of the Congress.

### **Deputies Call For Government Crime Report**

*18001151 Moscow TRUD in Russian 30 May 89 p 1*

[Article by N. I. Babchenko, I. M. Luchenok, E. A. Pamfilova, M. G. Safiullin, USSR People's Deputies from labor unions: "Inquiry From A Group Of USSR People's Deputies Elected From Labor Unions Regarding Law-Enforcement Agencies' Efforts To Step Up The Fight Against Crime"]

[Text] We, a group of USSR People's Deputies from labor unions, call the USSR government's attention to the situation regarding crime in the country—a situation that has become extremely exacerbated of late—particularly with respect to the maintenance of law and order, the safety of citizens and their property, the protection of socialist property, and an increase in thefts, bribetaking, and corruption.

In their numerous petitions to various agencies, including to labor unions, working people demand that they and their families receive full guarantees of their constitutional rights to the protection and safety of their lives and health; that they be protected from rampant crime; and that conditions be created for normal labor and quality relaxation. In these petitions, people speak with pain and indignation of rising crime; of their fear of going out on the streets at night; of vandalism committed by groups of young and teenaged hooligans; and of growing racketeering. Things have reached the point where extortionists are demanding protection money even from gardening associations.

With the connivance of law-enforcement agencies, and in view of the lack of effective measures on the Soviet authorities' part, the criminal world is consolidating, organizing, and operating in an increasingly brazen and barbaric manner. More and more often, actions by law-enforcement agencies are meeting with armed resistance. Attempts are being made on militia officers' lives. Corruption and "nontraditional" crime are on the increase, as are drug abuse, prostitution, and drunkenness. There have now been instances in which citizens



have been murdered by hired killers. The activities of the "shadow" economy are growing, activities whose value specialists now put at several billion rubles. Criminal actions are marked by exceptional audacity, brutal violence, and cynicism.

The present situation requires that the government take urgent and effective measures to put a stop to criminal actions, first and foremost to organized crime.

We consider it essential that the USSR government, at the forthcoming autumn session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, inform People's Deputies of the measures it has taken to combat crime and of the state of affairs in this regard.

**Defeat of Tyumen First Secretary Analyzed**  
*18001254 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian*  
*17 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 4*

[Article by IZVESTIYA special correspondent N. Ognev: "A Strong Individual?"]

[Text] To many, the news that swept through Tyumen last fall seemed unbelievable. The party organizations in several enterprises and organizations had rejected the recommendations of their rayon party committees that they nominate Gennadiy Pavlovich Bogomyakov to the new make-up of the oblast party committee. Among those opposed, there were even Communist Party members employed in the oblast KGB directorate.

There was all kinds of discussion about the news. And how! This was not a rank-and-file Communist they were talking about but the first secretary of the oblast party committee, about a member of the CPSU Central Committee who is reputed to be a strong individual. This was the first time that such a situation had arisen during all the 15 years of his uninterrupted incumbency as director of the oblast party organization.

In December, at the oblast report-back election conference, almost a fifth of the delegates crossed out the name of the first secretary of the oblast party committee as a member of this committee. And in March a majority of the voters found it impossible to see him as their USSR peoples deputy as well, although Gennadiy Pavlovich also had no competitor within the okrug.

And several days later the central newspapers reported that G. P. Bogomyakov is being proposed to the USSR Supreme Soviet as a candidate for the post of USSR Minister of the Petroleum and Gas Industry.

I worked together with Gennadiy Pavlovich for 8 years, naturally in the way that a correspondent of a central newspaper is able to work together with a first secretary of an oblast party committee, and I have known him almost twice as long. I thought for a long time about whether or not to write this article. And finally I decided I would. Because this is not a private matter.

People presented an extremely solid charge against Gennadiy Pavlovich. Social programs were being put off for a long time into the future. And now, both in the agricultural south of the oblast and in its north, where the oil and gas fields are located, it is as if people are living in a gigantic railroad terminal which is no way the train they are waiting for will ever reach.

...During a recent, almost three-hour long conversation with me, Gennadiy Pavlovich convincingly talked about how social and everyday services projects are being built in the oblast at rates which their neighbors do not even dream of. And this is really so. However, the present speed-up has come to Tyumen—to be totally honest—because of energy which is coming not from the first secretary, but rather from the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat. At a session at the beginning of the five-year plan, it subjected Gennadiy Pavlovich to sharp criticism for the state of affairs in the social sphere. If we decipher this dryish formulation, then the situation appeared as follows. According to calculations by economists and sociologists, at the start of the 1980's, it was necessary to build 4 million square meters of living space in the oblast every year. Alas, Tyumen will reach this level with a ten-year delay. Rates were not increased in the 1970's. In the social sphere at that time, according to the estimate of the economists, they saved about 5 billion rubles, and they lost about 20 billion solely because of migration provoked by this reason.

Following the discussion in the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee, construction of living space grew by a third. But, in round figures, construction of social and everyday services objects for the citizen of Tyumen has fallen short by another billion rubles during the years of the current five-year plan!

And how can we express the suffering of the people who are vegetating in real slums. How many are suffering like this? According to the data of the oblast trade union council, 120,000 families, or about 400,000 people. And according to the data of the oblast soviet executive committee, considerably fewer—170,000 persons. The disparity is extremely symptomatic: They want very much to appear more decent. If only a little bit.

Things are just the same with health as they are with everyday services. Despite the information of the oblast CPSU committee, published by the oblast newspaper on the eve of the report-back election conference, losses due to temporary inability to work grew by 14 percent during the 1980's: Every single day, 60,000 people are sick. This figure corresponds exactly to another—about 70,000 are working in conditions which do not meet even our extremely modest requirements. And, all together, these reasons produce an extremely gloomy picture: Within the oblast, traumatism, tuberculosis, and child mortality is almost twice as high as the average level (there is not even a specialized children's hospital in Tyumen).

I will never forget the panorama seen on my first trip through the oil region of Priob. Then, for the first time, I became clearly convinced that our favorite formula—"the battle for something" [bitva za nechto]—very accurately reflects what has been going on. From Nizhnevartovsk to Nefteyugansk, in a strip almost a thousand kilometers in length, the land has been turned inside out and bristles with pipes, fittings, pieces of concrete and other industrial trash. The rivers, streams and lakes have been fouled by iridescent spots of oil. Chaos has settled on the nature of Tyumen, and the fish, the beasts, and the birds have fled from it in horror. The people's turn arrived, and it was then that they levied their primary charge against the director of the oblast party organization...

Is this just—to lay everything on one person? And is the right person? Experience, practice, results provide the answer to these simple questions...

Yes, Gennadiy Pavlovich was not alone. But he immediately caught the functional logic of the administrative system and did not distance himself from its policy of momentary advantage. Back in the second half of the 1970's, I had occasion to participate in the work of a "roundtable" on problems of developing the natural resources of Tyumen. Gennadiy Pavlovich, having obtained the "scientific" support of the then chief editor of the journal *KOMMUNIST*, came out flatly against the strategy long proposed by Siberian economists: not to impose colonial methods on the North and, at preferential rates, to create the normal conditions of life. And, in a discussion with me several years after this "roundtable," G. P. Bogomyakov expressed his position in clear-cut form:

"If they order it, we will drag the pipes into the swamps barefoot!"

This "we," as you understand, was and has remained an extremely illusory symbol, a light propagandistic exaggeration. But everything else was so. It was so—right up to the bare feet in a figurative and in direct sense. It was convenient not to notice the shortage of boots, and even more so of apartments, and, for prestige purposes, to produce oil and gas. The more, the better...

And so, at the end of last year, against the background of the political squabbles in Tyumen, one event went unnoticed—the oil workers entered a new period of misfortunes. They had experienced the first period at the beginning of the last five-year plan.

Is this second disruption an accident? No. I have in my file calculations made by G. I. Kondratyev. An experienced oilman, Gennadiy Ivanovich at the beginning of the 1980's came to work in the West Siberian territorial commission of the USSR Gosplan and predicted the present fall with an accuracy of up to one percent. Having analyzed the rates of development of closely-related sectors, he became convinced that the country

simply does not have sufficient strength to produce so much oil. For some reason, the share of oil dollars for the import of resources and technology had begun to increase sharply.

There was a second conclusion from Kondratyev's analysis: It is time to take a sober look at the potentials of Tyumen resources. The Siberian miracle has been accomplished at the expense of four or five of the largest deposits. It was precisely these which provided from 70 to 95 percent of all the oil extracted in western Siberia. And so, in search of momentary advantage, they finished off the giant Samotlor, and later also such very large deposits, on a world scale, as Fedorovskoye, Mamontovskoye, and Ust-Balykskoye...

Exhaustion of the oil giants came at the peak of the campaign, proclaimed by the oblast party committee, for daily production of one million tons of petroleum and one billion cubic meters of gas. Do you sense the pleasing roundness of these figures? The first goal was achieved in 1983, but after two years the victorious figures greatly paled.

But who is this Kondratyev, with his predictions, even if he is not alone but together with his colleagues from the Tyumen petroleum scientific research institute [NII]? It is only possible to wonder at the boldness of these people. During the years of stagnation, they were not afraid to dispute an all-powerful first secretary who had his own ideas about the potentials of Siberia's natural wealth. Gennadiy Pavlovich defended these ideas always and everywhere: 500 million tons of oil a year! His powerful voice beat down all the arguments of those who disagreed:

"Limiters" [predelshchiki]

I remember this word—one with a history. This is precisely how they banged away at the specialists who, supposedly in a bourgeois spirit, tried to temper the powerful surge of the stakhanovites: They will ruin, they said, the equipment.

Thank God, it did not reach the point of having their own "miners" [shakhtinskiy] case in Tyumen—not this time. But, here too, the lot of the obstinate was not a sweet one. The first victims appeared at the end of the 1970's. The successor to the well-known V. I. Muravlenko in the post of chief of the main administration [glavka] for petroleum—F. G. Arzhanov—lost his job as soon as he tried to defend intelligent exploitation of these unique deposits before the oblast party committee. Soon after F.G. Arzhanov was fired, the irreplaceable chief geologist of the main administration for petroleum, Yu. B. Fayn, had a heart attack.

"I can no longer look at this barbarism," Yuriy Borisovich, who barely recovered after his illness, told me with bitterness about his own inability to change anything.

And how much shameless abuse did the director of the petroleum NII, Ye. I. Yefremov, now dead, experience? The present director, Yu. V. Maslyantsev, is also in a difficult spot. A half year ago, at a highly-respected conference in Surgut, in response to a well-argued refusal to deliver oil in excess of the state order, G. P. Bogomyakov publicly stated to Maslyantsev:

"You should be shot!"

And added, laughing:

"Out of a catapult!"

But, indeed, should he be? Events have confirmed that the "limiters" are correct, and not of the first secretary of the oblast party committee... What does Gennadiy Pavlovich think about this? How does he assess the prospects? Inasmuch as the discussion went on for a long time, I hope that I will not be violating ethics if I present only his basic theses. And so, I will turn on my tape recorder.

"You do not know any greater optimist than I," sounds the voice of G. P. Bogomyakov. "Also, I do not want now to be a forecaster of evil, but I see a collapse in two or three years. At the present time, our production is falling short by 4-5 million tons, and by the next five-year plan we will have accumulated a total debt of 10-12 million.

"I also cannot optimistically assess the new five-year plan," Gennadiy Pavlovich stressed. "In the Ministry of the Petroleum Industry they are setting the production volume at 330 million tons for 1995. Knowing the oblast's raw material reserves, I am certain that the country could, in the course of 20-30 years, extract 650-700 million tons of oil together with condensate. Of this, 450-500 million tons is here, in Tyumen."

Why so much oil? And how else to achieve the goal which we have set for society—to greatly increase the productivity of labor. We often encounter a figure: In American industry it, productivity, is twice as high as with us. Why? Well because, G. P. Bogomyakov thinks, they also use twice as much electric power per capita there. I remind you of the precise natural law making the rounds in the world: A one-percent increase in per capita electric power consumption produces approximately one percent of growth in productivity.

And further, making reference to calculations of the USSR Gosplan Scientific Research Institute for Complex Fuel and Energy Problems, G. P. Bogomyakov declared that no great hope should be set on economizing on fuel and energy. Per unit of national income we use only 8 percent more of these than the Americans. Of course, the speaker conceded, it is necessary to save, but without substantial additional inputs of energy, we will not pull through.

Such is his position...

Well, let's take it in order. With the information about raw material supplies that they acquainted me with in the scientific research institute for petroleum. Known deposits will be able to provide only 300 million tons of oil in 1995. For the time-being it is still unknown where the remaining millions will be gotten from. Yes, the geologists are fulfilling their plans and by the end of the five-year plan promise to discover still another 150 deposits. But almost all of them, in the jargon of the oil workers, are "sun-flower seeds" [semechka] In comparison with 1970, there has been a 27-fold decline in the reserves of each, and a 30-fold decline in daily flow rates. Naturally, the worth of these "sun-flower seeds" is bite-sized.

Here is what this raw material costs the country. If 15 years ago 48 rubles were spent on the creation of new capacities for the extraction of a ton of oil, then in 1985 this came to 88 rubles and in 1990 it will already be necessary to invest 129. Things are no easier in Tyumen. It is as if its time has come and gone, and account must be taken of this. Last year, 394 million tons were obtained here. This year, according to the most optimistic calculations, this will be 390 million tons (although the plan calls for more).

The secretary of the Tyumenskaya Oblast party committee, V. V. Kitayev, criticizing the petro-gas complex, considers that, extracting not more (!) than 350 million tons, the enterprises will be able get by, that is, to survive under conditions of economic accountability.

"Only a miracle will help to go beyond 400 million tons," G. I. Kondratyev is categorical in his opinion, "but even with this expenditures will double."

"Doesn't such a cost scare you?," I asked Bogomyakov.

"We are figuring in internal prices," Gennadiy Pavlovich confidently replied. "But if estimates are made on the basis of world prices, of which is more profitable—whether it costs more to import oil from the Emirates or to extract our own costs more—then all questions disappear. I think."

One can figure either way. One thing is clear: An increase in prices does not reduce expenditures. And even without this they will grow. The share of the fuel and energy complex within the total volume of production capital investments has grown from 28 to 38 percent in recent years. Where are we going to get the new billions under the present budget if these sectors are increasingly working for themselves and not for goods. According to the data of this same G. I. Kondratyev, it already takes half a ton of standard fuel to extract one ton of standard fuel. A "cost-is-no-object" economy is becoming increasingly wasteful; it is strongly reminiscent of a drug addict who every day needs an ever larger dose of narcotics, in this case, of energy...

This, properly, also refutes, in the expression of western economists, the fairy tale about indissoluble mutual connections between energy consumption and economic growth. A fairy tale which G.P. Bogomyakov defends with surprising consistency. For a long time already, the world economy has been determined not only by the consumption of energy. In 1986 in the developed countries, electronics left the fuel and energy complex [TEK] behind in terms of volume of capital investments. And this is understandable: In the United States, sectors related to the information sciences provide half the national income. Our country is in 62nd place with regard to this indicator. Isn't it time to start thinking about this? Indeed, specifically under the influence of electronics, 15 years after the world energy crisis of 1973, the energy intensity of national income in the United States and France has declined by 70 and 78 percent respectively. In England, some scholars think it is possible to reduce energy expenditures even to one-sixth of the present level. A group of scholars from West Germany is in agreement with them...

Fate has ordained that G.P. Bogomyakov became secretary of the oblast party committee in the year of the energy crisis. Judging by everything, the year 1973 has remained on Gennadiy Pavlovich's calendar.

I was also very interested in another of G.P. Bogomyakov's arguments: Are we really only 8 percent more wasteful than the Americans in the expenditure of energy? And I set out for the USSR Academy Science Institute of Economics to see Tatyana Nikolayevna Ivanova, who is conducting research in the field of interest. Staggering things became clear. It turns out that of the two billion tons of standard fuel that are produced every year, we could save 760 million. Think, almost 40 percent of the tons of standard fuel are not needed if wide use is made of new technologies which have already been created in the country.

We will not be idealists: Introduction—is our pet corn, and we will hardly remove it immediately. But here is another figure obtained by T. N. Ivanova: The savings practically achievable today are 300 million tons of standard fuel out of this 760! Every year! They can be obtained using technology that is produced serially. Is this a lot or a little—300 million? I heard—I didn't believe. For 1985 alone these losses turned out to be 20 percent more than the entire increase in the production of the fuel and energy complex for the 11th Five-Year Plan.

It is difficult now to find the first person who said that it is possible and necessary to produce 500 million tons of oil in Tyumen. But G. P. Bogomyakov has noted that he himself in the past was not a potato grower, that he is an oil expert and that he knows how to evaluate the situation. For the sake of objectivity, however, I want to specify that he hydrogeologist and has the degree of candidate of sciences. However, let the first secretary by an oil man and a double doctor of sciences—what does

this change? Is it the business of the director of an oblast party organization to determine the strategy for the development of a sector? There are, after all, specialists for this. We know, however, how much Gennadiy Pavlovich has listened to them.

Tradition, as we see, does not die despite all the talk about limitation of functions. We have fired off more than a few shots at ministerial and departmental monopolies. But isn't the monopoly on the truth held by certain party workers really more destructive? It goes without saying that it is important to look into energy matters. But it is even more important not to retreat from principles that are as eternal as the world: Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's. I am convinced that as long as party secretaries are not freed from the heavy burden of determining how much oil, gas, ore, etc. to extract, until that time, we will also not be freed from those specific problems which are tearing our long-suffering economy to pieces.

Now, though it is difficult to believe, Gennadiy Pavlovich is dismayed. What is happening? For several months already the plan for oil extraction has not been fulfilled and there has not been a single call to him, the first secretary, from the CPSU Central Committee and Gosplan. What is this? A lack of understanding of the situation? A lack of time? And perhaps, a change in priorities? Or of work style? You will agree, there is something to be dismayed about.

For me, however, it is another question that does disturbs me. Really, does this man, whom nature has richly endowed with intelligence, a person whose logic has forced academicians to change their convictions, does he really, when defending for all to hear hopelessly obsolete ideas, not know what he is doing? I cannot believe it. Gennadiy Pavlovich knows everything perfectly. However, it is not a matter of knowing, but rather of the philosophy which he has professed his entire life. A philosophy which can be briefly characterized as follows: I am a soldier. In his justification he probably will say: I demanded that more oil and gas be produced, no matter what. But they demanded the same thing from me!

Yes, party leaders of all ranks have been enrolled in the system, and it is not desirable for them to oppose it, even if they could; this has become a trait of sorts. This is a fact. But it is also a fact that there have been desperate heads which have decisively gotten around this fateful characteristic. Far from all of them have succeeded, and sometimes there has been nothing—they have been deprived of prestigious positions and awards. But these people have soothed the hard breathing of the administrative-command system and have tried to preserve the critical mass of that which is sacred and which, from the beginning, has been made the basis of our order.

Has Gennadiy Pavlovich even once offered resistance, seeing what kind of price, what kind of suffering the millions of tons of oil are costing and knowing with what



lack of talent they are being squandered? No! Everything has hung on the magic words "it is necessary," pronounced on high, words which, to justify himself, he has supported with doubtful economic concepts. And our political structure has assisted in their defense in the face of disagreement. For many years G. P. Bogomyakov has been a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet and in recent times he has also headed its standing commission on USSR energy. One can judge the degree to which political, legislative and executive power has been concentrated in the hands of one person, and also the sphere of this man's influence...

And what can he do now? Repudiate his conceptual supports? Indeed, this equates to an acknowledgement that you, even if not in everything, were wrong. That some part of your life has passed without benefit.

But such an acknowledgement requires a person to overcome his own arrogance, to look truth in the eye. A truly strong individual is capable of such an action, one who does not list legends among his assets, but rather has the highest human morals that judge him demandingly every day and every hour, whether he wants this or not. Maybe I am wrong but, from my many years of acquaintance with Gennadiy Pavlovich, I have drawn a deep conviction: Of the idea that exists concerning him—that he is a strong individual—it is the "strong" that is more characteristic of him—the strength of power which both yesterday and today has driven him straight ahead, regardless of obstacles. An individual? I don't know...

...I remember that, at a recent session of the oblast party committee buro, G.P. Bogomyakov pronounced the following phrase:

"Democratization, comrades, is not only a demand of the times. It is the directive of the Central Committee."

Really, will we in the future as well derive our strength from routine directives?

#### **Minsk Obkom Official on Resignations of Party Members**

18001273 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 6 Jun 89 p 2

[Interview with Fedor Ivanovich Klyukach, member, Belorussian CP Minsk Obkom Buro, chief, Department of Organizational-Party and Cadre Work by L. Yunchik: "Position or Demarche?"]

[Text] The editors recently received a letter with an unusual enclosure—a party card. After journalistic and party investigation, our correspondent met with F. Klyukach, chief of the Department of Organizational-Party and Cadre Work and member of the Belorussian CP Minsk Obkom Buro.

[Yunchik] Fedor Ivanovich, I happened to hand N. Usenok's party card in to the Party Control Committee of the Belorussian CP Obkom. In this regard, I admit, I felt as though I had sent someone on a final journey.

[Klyukach] Yes, this is true. There is one less communist. After this demarche, the party organization of the "Beloruskaliya" Production Association's Housing and Utilities Administration expelled Usenok from its ranks.

[Yunchik] In the letter to the editors explaining his deed, N. Usenok writes:

"I consider it useless to continue the struggle. The weakest goes to the wall: not only are the anti-restructuring forces not losing their positions, but are even strengthening them. One gets the impression that our all-mighty bureaucracy has adapted to glasnost very rapidly, and is reacting to everything, as in the Eastern saying: the dog barks, but the caravan goes on... I realized that communists who are like me are not needed... At that moment, I lost all faith in justice and hope for a change for the better in the restructuring processes. Proceeding from this, I have decided to leave the CPSU and I am sending you my party card with this letter."

After going on pension, Usenok worked in different worker's posts, lastly at the Housing and Utilities Administration [ZhKU] of "Beloruskaliya." The ZhKU party organization severely reprimanded him, with a note on his registration card, for systematic failure, without good reason, to fulfill his responsibilities according to the labor agreement and the rules for internal procedure.

N. Usenok appealed to the Party Control Committee of the Belorussian CP Central Committee. The appeal was referred to the obkom. After a careful study of the circumstances of the case, our Party Control Committee suggested reducing the punishment to a reprimand. However, the obkom buro did not manage to examine this suggestion before N. Usenok sent his party card to the editors.

His appeal, I believe, is nothing more than a screen. He himself did not want to stay in the party and sought a reason for leaving it.

[Yunchik] During a trip to Soligorsk, I met Nikolay Grigoryevich. At the time, something struck me unpleasantly. He decisively stated that he had had no penalties whatsoever during his membership in the party. Yet, the next day at the party gorkom I found out that the primary party organization of the House of Pioneers had at one time reprimanded Usenok for failure to fulfill a party assignment. In speaking of his long membership in the party, he proudly, it seems to me, reported that his son and three brothers had become communists with his



assistance, and that his father had also been a member of the CPSU. Yet, he himself broke this fine family tradition. He admitted that he is no longer advising his other son to join the party.

[Klyukach] I think that he felt full well how responsibility and exigency toward each party member has been growing recently. Therefore, he preferred to step aside.

[Yunchik] How do you interpret Usenok's letter to the editors?

[Klyukach] I can certainly allow that the former communist feels insulted. Indeed, we have all been forced to encounter many cases of social injustice and bureaucracy. However, we must struggle, not step dramatically aside.

I recall how, during work as first secretary of the Belorussian CP Uzdenskiy Raykom, we jointly succeeded in investigating the conduct of a communist, Bondar, who had worked as a sector inspector before retiring. You see, the party committee at the "Neman" Kolkhoz had talked to him improperly, and he gave up his party card. Our employees tried to reason with him—uselessly. I had to visit the "refusenik." After this, he took his party card back and began to attend meetings regularly.

[Yunchik] For some reason, it seems to me that persuasion and "talks for life" are not the best method. Really, should we beg people? I do not think that this same Bondar will join the activists.

[Klyukach] Let us find out how they speak of him right now. (He telephones V. Ivanovskiy, party committee chairman, Belorussian CP Uzdenskiy Raykom). In fact, he has "started kicking up a row" again. He stopped going to meetings and has not paid his dues for 2 months. However, today we have a different approach to such phenomena, and nobody will beg him to stay in the party.

[Yunchik] I recently talked to the organization chief of one of the party raykoms. He had transferred to a job in his specialty and that is why, probably, being especially candid, he categorically stated: "Twenty million people cannot be in the vanguard!" That is, in his opinion, the ranks of party members have grown excessively.

[Klyukach] In my opinion, the vanguard could be even larger. After all, there are far more good, honest people, that communists. They can all fill up the party's ranks. It is another matter, that our approach was incorrect until recently. Thus, sometimes careerists and hangers-on stole into the party. We finally have realized, for example, that a leader does not mandatorily have to be a communist. Also, the previous procedure for acceptance into the party no longer exists.

[Yunchik] Yet, then why are individual comrades giving up their party cards on their own initiative?

[Klyukach] I think that everything can be blamed, as a rule, on dependence and mercantile interests. In one case, somebody, in his opinion, has not received housing for too long. In another, something else is being "screwed up." For example, P. Znak, an electrician at the "Termoplast" Plant, turned in his party card as a sign of "protest" against the nonpayment of a bonus. Many think they are losing money for nothing by paying their party dues. Others do not want to go to the meetings or carry out party assignments. However, not many admit this honestly. The majority justify it through references to the negative facts and phenomena of our life.

Let me give a typical example. I. Yushko, a 50-year old churner at the Molodechno Confection Factory, wrote the following statement to the party bureau.

"I ask you to expel me from the party for personal reasons. I support the CPSU line on restructuring, democracy and glasnost. However, I cannot reconcile myself to the fact that the party ranks include many people who are neither honest nor have a conscience. They know no limit to distorting its policy. They engage in figure-padding, violations of legality, etc. In this respect, many know how to be right, but instead only discredit the party and our people. They do not abandon their positions, their posts and "warm chairs," voluntarily, but only harm the work of restructuring. Therefore, I am leaving these communists."

But what was the real reason? Yushko told engineer L. Kozlovskiy, member of a committee for investigating personal affairs, without verbal affectation: "Better that I buy a bottle of vodka or bite of sausage with the money that I pay for the party dues."

Really, can those who begrudge the money for party dues remain in the vanguard?

[Yunchik] The members of the Belorussian CP Party Control Committee directed my attention to the fact that former servicemen often decide to leave the party. One of them, sending in his party card, commented: "I believed Stalin, I believed Khrushchev, and then Brezhnev. Now, I believe no one..."

[Klyukach] Last year, 15 such "refuseniks" were found. Some former commanders and educators, having served in the army and done well for themselves in "civilian life," give up their party cards with unbelievable ease. After all, it no longer gives them anything, it just imposes responsibilities. Here, dependence is manifested, if you wish, in the classical form.

For example, V. Kazhayev retired with the title of lieutenant-colonel and began working as a machine operator at the "Borisovdrev" Production Association. They even elected him secretary of the shop party organization. At first, Kazhayev refused the secretary's seat, and then stated that he did not see the sense of staying in the

party any longer. V. Shostatskiy, a retired major, justified his departure by his disagreement with party decisions, and Ministry of Defense retirees from Minsk, V. Gurin, I. Davydov, and V. Vorobyev, refused in general to indicate a reason. Recently, V. Veher, a lieutenant-colonel and now a dispatcher at MAZ, refused to pay the dues. Retiree N. Sizyakin, a former soldier, wrote that he "believes in nothing and no one, and sees no ideas in the foreseeable future, in which it would be possible to believe." G. Parkhomenko from Dzerzhinsk was much more frank. He voiced many claims against the party, but at the same time admitted that he had joined it in order to successfully graduate from the Military Communications Academy and climb the service ladder. After retiring as a major, he did not want to be in the CPSU anymore.

[Yunchik] Recently, the number of people who were expelled or who left the CPSU has increased in the republic on the whole: from 4,313 people in 1987, to 4,893 last year.

[Klyukach] In 1988, 1,615 people in our oblast gave up their party cards on their own or on the initiative of party organizations and party committees, including 329 CPSU candidate members. For comparison, I will add: this is 340 and 100 people more, correspondingly, than there were a year ago.

In 1987, 19 people voluntarily turned in their party cards. Last year, it was already 95. Of these, almost one-half are workers, more than one-fourth are retirees, and 19 percent are servicemen. More than 60 people have already rejected their party cards in the oblast this year. At the Precision Electronic Machinebuilding Design Bureau, 6 workers were expelled from the CPSU for evading participation in the party organization's work.

[Yunchik] Previously, we had become accustomed to the fact that a communist is deprived of the right to be in the right-wing when he grossly violates the Rules of the CPSU. Yet, this voluntary casting off of one's responsibilities is, in general, a new phenomenon.

[Klyukach] Our department recently carefully studied the situation that has taken shape. Numerous meetings and talks with CPSU veterans and the party aktiv have helped expose the basic reasons. Here, I am forced to take a dig at the press.

Under the influence of numerous reports in newspapers, magazines, and on radio and television broadcasts about the negative activities of a number of high-ranking party and state leaders, a significant share of the working people have formed the opinion that there are more people who have compromised themselves in the party, than there are genuine, honest communists. Yet, after all, I assure you, this is a mistaken opinion. Most party members justly deserve this title. At the same time, there are very few articles about communists, particularly

communist leaders, who actually advance restructuring and display genuine concern for the people, for the conditions of their labor and life.

[Yunchik] I will not dispute this thought, but, after all, most likely there are other reasons as well?

[Klyukach] Of course. The transformations being carried out in the economy and the social sphere are not giving noticeable results for the time being. People are expressing dissatisfaction with the washing out of inexpensive everyday items, the growth in shortages, and insufficient food and industrial goods. A separate segment of the working people relate this to the party's inability to effectively control the processes that are occurring.

Serious errors have been made with youth. Consumer attitudes are growing among a significant share of young people. Some question the ideals on which generations of Soviet people were brought up, which directly or indirectly creates young people's mistrust of the older generation, of the correctness of decisions made by the soviet bodies.

There are no history textbooks in the schools. Young people are experiencing serious gaps in their knowledge of it. The press often presents any given period only in dark colors. Under these conditions, people starting an independent life cannot always correctly orient themselves within the true values of a socialist society or make proper conclusions about the CPSU's role in carrying out socialist transformations and restructuring.

[Yunchik] We are turning to the same subject again. So, I would like to quote some lines from a poem by R. Rozhdestvenskiy, "The Press's Fault!":

We lived, concerns unknowing. There was no cult, so long as, The wicked press was not rushing, To unmask a cult! ...It is the press's fault, (Just don't open a newspaper)—That people's wages, Such as there are, but generally—are not! That things are bad in medicine, That there is chaos in the fields, No food in the stores, And no ordinary knowledge in the schools...

The poet, it seems, correctly noted that, recently, people often blame the press for one negative phenomenon or another. However, after all, it is a mirror which reflects the processes occurring in life. Let us consider this same N. Usenok. In a recent conversation with me, at first he declared: "The press provoked me. If not for it, with its glasnost and democracy, I would have lived, as before in the stagnant times, and would not have twittered." True, he also made claims against the party obkom workers. Then he admitted: "I have not been insulted by anyone—only by myself, for staying in the party so long..." The last statement, in my opinion, is closer to the truth.

However, Fedor Ivanovich, what if it is the party committees' fault that immature, casual people often have become communists?..

[Klyukach] Really, in past years the forced growth of party ranks and the administrative-arbitrary approach to determining the correlation between the number of workers and officials and to evaluating the role and place of the working class in the party, has done great harm. Modern engineers are representatives of the working class too, but an artificial barrier has been created for accepting them into the party, and the quality of party ranks suffers as a result. This is a paradox: in kolkhozes, people are accepted as peasants, but in sovkhozes—as employees, although in terms of their way of life and the nature of the problems being solved, their positions are identical.

In short, we should not only more actively rid ourselves of various flaws in work to fill the party ranks, but also, in Lenin's words, "we must cleanse the party of cheats, of the bureaucratized, of the unclean, of shaky Communists..."

[Yunchik] Perhaps a "purge" is planned in the oblast?

[Klyukach] As everyone knows, proposals of this nature have been made, but the 19th All-Union Party Conference did not pass them. I personally am against turning this work into a campaign, for example, holding a certification once every 5-year period. We must reinforce the party's strength by constantly, daily cleansing it of casual people.

The oblast party committee is studying in detail the processes that are occurring and the situation in labor collectives and primary organizations. It has outlined a number of measures to reinforce political and explanatory work with the masses and to raise the party's authority.

The party meetings recently held in the oblast primary organizations, where a demanding, principle-minded discussion of the communists' vanguard role and their influence on a collective's work was held, have contributed a great deal to this. These meetings were held with great effectiveness at the "Krasnyy Metallist" and the Automobile and Tractor Electrical Equipment plants in Borisov, the Primary Procurement Works of the Molodechno Light Metal Structures Plant, the concentrating factory of the Primary Ore Administration of the "Beloruskaliya" Production Association, the Institute for Nuclear Problems, and at secondary schools No 67 in Minsk and No 12 in Molodechno. Sharp, problem-oriented, large-scale discussions were held here, and a demanding analysis of each communist's personal position on restructuring was made.

[Yunchik] However, there were other meetings as well—dull, expressionless, not fulfilling the mission placed on them. I do not say this without substantiation—I happen to have attended some.

[Klyukach] In fact, in a number of party organizations the discussion, so necessary under the present conditions, did not turn out. In the "Timkovichskiy" Sovkhoz, Kopylskiy Rayon, the communists only verified the facts and tried to find scapegoats for one shortcoming and omission or another. Both in the reports, and in the debates, the role of communists in political work was hardly mentioned. At the party organization meeting of the "8 March" Kolkhoz, Logoyskiy Rayon, the reporting speaker basically dwelled on production problems.

All the speeches by party members at the Soligorsk Truck Pool were reduced to criticism of the higher party bodies. I allow that there was cause for this, but criticism should not be, so to speak, one-sided. Without a strict and demanding attitude toward oneself and one's party comrades, we will not go far, we will be unable to rid ourselves of the ideological friability that has penetrated the ranks of the party organizations. It is time for everyone to understand this. However, many communists would rather not "put themselves out," so as not to complicate life for themselves.

[Yunchik] It is probably no accident that the speakers at the recent CPSU Central Committee Plenum raised these problems in concert. They sounded the alarm because cases of turning in party cards have become more frequent. They spoke of the fact that some party organizations, party committees, and communists are losing their vanguard role, taking an "ostrich" position at times. Extreme opinions that the party is losing its positions in the country, that it has turned into a discussion club, etc., were expressed.

[Klyukach] On this count, M.S. Gorbachev simply stated: the dialogue between the party and the working people is not a weakness and is not turning the CPSU into a discussion club. He rightly called these attitudes a nostalgia for the authoritarian methods.

We have one path. If we act, leading the process of raising the people's social activeness, then the work of restructuring will go further along the planned course and the party will receive great support from the working people. If we lose the initiative, if we tolerate backwardness, then the work of restructuring will suffer serious and sometimes even irrevocable damage.

Today, we should proceed precisely from this understanding of the party's vanguard role. However, to do this, as the Plenum oriented us, the party should constantly develop itself along Leninist principles. It should learn to live and work under the conditions of democracy, counting on lively ties with people, on developing a constant dialogue with all social forces. Unity of words and deeds must be achieved in everything.

[Yunchik] And every Communist should think seriously: why does he carry the red booklet.

[Klyukach] The party is in great need of moral health, of replenishment with initiative. It knows how to value not only leading, but also rank-and-file members, who move restructuring forward through their specific actions. Recently, the Belorussian CP Molodechnenskiy Raykom Buro accepted Olga Rinkevich, a young operator who raises piglets at the Kolkhoz Imeni 50th anniversary of October. The buro members were interested in knowing why she decided to join the party, when some have no objections to taking final leave of it. "That is precisely why I decided to become a Communist, because I really want to help the party and restructuring at a difficult time."

These are not just pretty words. O. Rinkevich has earned the right to be in the vanguard. She graduated from a technical school and worked as a technician at an alcohol plant. However, she changed her job for one which seems unprestigious to many. Olga herself is quite satisfied with it. She works hard, and fulfills a very responsible job: deputy of the rayon soviet, and a member of the labor collective council and of the women's council. She has a good family: their 2 daughters are growing up; her husband is a party member and studies at the institute. With this kind of replacement, we can do a great deal.

**From the Editors:** We invite anyone concerned about the problem dealt with here to continue this discussion.

#### **Ukrainian CP CC Discusses Party Membership, Other Issues**

18001048a Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
5 Apr 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Ukrainian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] At a scheduled meeting, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Politburo examined the issue of work done on recruitment into the CPSU in 1988, the enhancement of the authority of primary Party organizations, and the strengthening of the Party's ranks. It was noted that on the whole this work was being performed in accordance with the directives of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference. On 1 January there were 3,302,000 Communists in the Ukrainian CP. The number of primary Party organizations had grown to 71,684. The purging from the Party ranks of those who violate directive requirements and discredit the high calling of Communist with unseemly conduct has continued. The Party committees are moving away from a formally statistical approach to the regulation of growth in Party ranks. The foremost consideration for Party recruitment is the attitude toward restructuring and actual participation in it, the political position of new entrants and their moral persona.

And yet it was emphasized that certain Party committees and primary Party organizations are paying less attention than before to issues pertaining to Party recruitment, and especially the recruitment of workers, that the

search for forms that are responsive to the new conditions is taking too long, and that too little value is being placed upon individual work with new entrants. The Central Committee has declared it incumbent upon Party committees to analyze the state of work being done on CPSU recruitment and implement concrete measures that will improve it and will enhance the Party organizations' combative stance. Every primary Party organization should be pursuing some socially significant undertaking.

The Central Committee Politburo defined the basic issues of work to be done by the Central Committee in the second quarter of 1989. Crucial to its activity in this period is the ongoing practical actualization of decisions taken at the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th All-Union Party Conference, and subsequent Central Committee plenums. Particular attention will be accorded to the development of the agroindustrial complex in accordance with the decisions of the March 1989 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

It is intended to analyze the work being done by a number of Party committees and organizations on the restructuring of their own activity, the execution of the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government on increasing consumer goods production and developing the service sphere, and the safeguarding of socialist ownership.

Central Committee commissions will study several major issues and make the appropriate suggestions, in particular with regard to the ongoing democratization of cadre work, the improvement of inter-national relations, the safeguarding by juridical means of citizens' political, socioeconomic and individual rights and freedoms and of ways of defending society's interests.

It is also proposed to proffer practical assistance to Party committees and primary organizations in their execution CPSU Central Committee and Ukrainian CP Central Committee decrees on issues pertaining to practical and organizational work.

Communications from Communists heading the Republic's law enforcement agencies on the subject of criminal activity in the Ukrainian SSR during 1988 were examined. It was noted that too little work is being done in the localities to execute the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the Ukrainian CP Central Committee on the reinforcement of law and order and respect for the law. Many Party committees, executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies, law enforcement agencies and social organizations are campaigning less energetically than before against violations of the law.

It is intended to take steps to enhance further the efficacy of law enforcement agency activity and to improve their interaction with labor collectives and social organizations, in order to forestall violations of the law and other negative manifestations.



The Party obkoms were advised to conduct deep-reaching investigations in the localities into the reasons for organizational shortcomings in the execution of CPSU Central Committee and Ukrainian CP Central Committee decrees on the reinforcement of law and order and respect for the law, to ensure the requisite standards of political leadership in the law enforcement agencies, and to evince constant concern for the enhancement of the role and authority of the police. Ukrainian CP Central Committee departments were commissioned to proffer practical assistance to the Party committees in tackling these important tasks.

Other issues of Party-political work were also discussed.

### **Ukrainian CP CC Holds Nationalities Conference in Ternopol**

18001048b Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
7 Apr 89 p 3

[RATAU report: "Restructuring and the Nationalities Policy"]

[Text] "The Development of Interethnic Relations in the USSR: Issues of Theory and Practice" is the theme of the All-Union Regional Scientific and Practical Conference which opened on 6 April in Ternopol. It was organized by the CPSU Central Committee and the Ukrainian CP Central Committee. The participants are Party workers, social scientists, and lecturers for the Znaniye Society from Moscow, Leningrad, and several districts of the RSFSR, as well as the Ukraine, Belorussia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Moldavia.

An introductory address by Yu. N. Yelchenko, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, opened the conference. He noted that the gathering was being held in compliance with the general plan of preparation for the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which, as is known, proposes to discuss issues pertaining to the improvement of interethnic relations and to make some decisions of cardinal importance on that subject.

The Communist Party of the Ukraine, which regards itself as one of the CPSU's inseparable detachments, has paid and continues to pay rapt attention to the nationalities issue. This was dictated by the unique features of the Ukraine's historical development, by the interests of socialist construction in this country, and by an understanding of the motive forces behind that construction, which itself was occasioned by a need to be on constant political alert against nationalist and pronationalist

forces and elements of the Ukrainian bourgeois persuasion, which mostly operated outside the country but which were now and again, by virtue of certain historical prerequisites, also activated internally.

The Ukrainian people, the speaker went on, is well aware of nationalism's true worth, and not from theory but from harsh practicality. Communists and all the republic's working people have always upheld the ideas of internationalism and have struggled for the ongoing consolidation of our multinational society, for the reinforcement of internationalist consciousness among the masses and brotherhood between the peoples of the Soviet Union, and for the shaping of high criteria in dealings between nationalities.

The shaping of these criteria can result only from purposive and painstaking ideological education. And, judging from the perceptible growth of national self-awareness that is a distinguishing trait of restructuring, especially in view of the numerous ethnic groups dispersed throughout the Republic, some also living in close proximity, we see that this work should be pursued with great dispatch and in a highly versatile manner. To this end, we are striving to galvanize all the ideological and theoretical, political, socioeconomic, spiritual, moral and atheistic potential of proletarian socialist internationalism and to tap the experience of the CPSU's nationality policy.

An active search for new forms and methods for ideological work, including work done to shape high criteria in dealings between nationalities, is not something we can do without today.

In plenary meetings and section workshops, the conference participants are listening to papers and reports on pressing issues of interethnic relations in the USSR, on the CPSU's nationality policy during restructuring, and on some problems in the development of this country's nations and nationalities and of their economies, languages and cultures; they are exchanging experience in the international and patriotic education of the working people, and are meeting with labor collectives from industrial enterprises, organizations and educational institutions in Ternopol and several districts within the rayon.

V. Ye. Ostrozhinskiy, first secretary of the Ternopol Party obkom, A. A. Sazonov, a deputy subdepartment head in the CPSU Central Committee's State and Legal Department, and L. M. Kravchuk, head of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee's Ideological Department are also taking part in the conference.

This will be a two-day event.



**Ecumenical Youth Camp Held at Monastery**  
*18120102a Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English*  
*No 25, 25 Jun-2 Jul 89 p 2*

[Article by Yelena Isakova: "Camp in Optina Pustyn"]

[Text] The first ever International Ecumenical Youth Camp has been set up in the USSR. Nine Soviet and ten foreign representatives of various ecclesiastic organizations took part in its work June 1-10. The motto of the current meeting was spirituality and renewal. The site of the camp is the Optina Pustyn Monastery.

"Such camps began to crop up shortly after the end of World War II," says Russian Orthodox priest Sergei Bezchasny. "At that time, young men and women started restoring their churches, along with the hospitals and schools destroyed or damaged during the war throughout Europe. The absence of such camps in this country, which suffered most of all in the war, was the cause of universal surprise. But now the situation has taken a sharp turn for the better."

What were the people who converged on the camp doing?

They worked together, prayed together and communicated with each other. The work, six hours a day, was rather simple and required no special skills. Foreigners donated 200 Swiss francs each for the restoration of the monastery.

What were the participants?

They were students from European countries and Australia. Four of them were women. On the Soviet side they were members of the Estonian and Latvian Evangelical Lutheran Church, and the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians—Baptists. The Russian Orthodox Church sent to Optina Pustyn three seminarians and two people from the Moscow Patriarchate External Ecclesiastic Relations Department.

**Number of Religious Periodicals Growing**  
*18120102b Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English*  
*No 25, 25 Jun-2 Jul 89 p 14*

[Article by Priest Mark Smirnov: "HERALD: The Russian Orthodox Church Publishes a Newspaper"]

[Text] The first issue of "Church Herald" (8 pages) was published at Easter. Since the second issue the paper has been called "Moscow Church Herald". The weekly is aimed at people attached to the church, has a circulation of 50,000 and costs 30 kopeks. The question of subscription hasn't yet been decided and the "Herald" can be bought at Orthodox churches in Moscow and at the Publishing Department of the Moscow Patriarchate.

The number of church periodicals continues to grow. The Church of Adventist-Christians started to put out the weekly bulletin WORD OF RECONCILIATION late last year. It has a circulation of 5,000 and is printed in Tula. In February 1989 the Conference of Catholic Bishops of Lithuania started putting out the bi-month KATALIKU PASAULIS magazine in Lithuanian, which has a circulation of 100,000. The first issue of the monthly information bulletin of the Union of Evangelical Christian-Baptists was published in March and has a circulation of 15,000. This testifies to the new relations between our state and church.

**'Inter-Orthodox' Meeting Held in Minsk**  
*18001156a Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 11 May 89 p 3*

[BELTA report: "Minsk Inter-Orthodox Meeting"]

[Text] An inter-Orthodox "justice and peace" conference, organized within the framework of the World Council of Churches program to unite all Christian faiths in the cause of preserving peace, has finished its work in Minsk.

"We set ourselves the task of showing the relevance of such age-old values of mankind as justice and peace, humaneness, and the uniqueness of life on earth itself," remarked Archimandrite G. Limuris, the conference leader and deputy director of the program.

On 8 May, the inter-Orthodox conference participants were received by V.A. Mikulich, deputy chairman of the BSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. He told them about the republic's socioeconomic and political development during the years of Soviet rule, described the present church and state relations as constructive, and answered numerous questions.

Filaret, the Minsk and Belorussian Metropolitan, who spoke at the meeting, stressed that perestroika offers great opportunities to the Russian Orthodox Church in the area of service to the people.

L.N. Syroyegina, secretary of the BSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and A.I. Zhilskiy, USSR Council of Ministers' Council for Religious Affairs plenipotentiary for the BSSR, participated in the meeting.

Representatives of the Orthodox churches placed a wreath at the Memorial Obelisk in Pobeda [Victory] Square, and flowers at the "Khatyn" Eternal Flame Memorial Complex.

**British Vicar Defends Dissident Orthodox Priest,  
Assists Religious Group**

*18001156b Moscow TRUD in Russian 28 May 89 p 3*

[Article by TRUD special correspondent V. Galenkin:  
"The Naive Doctor Rogers"]

[Text] This story, which our newspaper has already written about, happened last year. It reminded one of a bad joke. It all started with Western radio stations' transmitting information from a certain A. Ogorodnikov, pretending to the title "Leader of the Russian Religious Renaissance," about a dissident deacon of the Russian Orthodox Church, one V. Shipilov, who supposedly had spent over 40 years in concentration camps and psychiatric hospitals. "He was first arrested, at the age of 17 years, for having studied in an underground seminary," it was said in the reports, "and, since that time, he has spent his entire life, except for a single year, in imprisonment...."

A horrifying story! So I wanted to speak out, to unsheathe my pen in defense of the aggrieved person. Alas, while I was finding out the whys and wherefores, a British vicar, Dick Rogers, beat me to it. This religious figure chose a somewhat unusual method of defending the "oppressed person"—He installed a special cage in one of the London parishes, and ensconced himself in it, after announcing that he would starve himself until Shipilov was released to freedom (read: to the West). Everyone, you have to admit, has his own method....

Thereafter, events took an entirely unexpected turn.

"Yes," Soviet official agencies informed Dick Rogers, "there is such a Shipilov; only he is not any sort of deacon, and he is not a prisoner, but an unfortunate, lonely man afflicted with mental illness."

Rogers did not believe the official conclusion of the expert physicians from the Institute imeni Serbskiy, and demanded authorization of the "sufferer's" departure for England. What is more, on the basis of Ogorodnikov's representations, Rogers also misled British official circles, which formally requested the Soviet authorities to permit Shipilov's departure from the USSR. After obtaining certification that Shipilov would be accorded attention and care in his new place of residence, as well as provided with competent medical aid, the permission was granted....

Well, and what then.... Some time later, with thinly veiled derision, the BBC transmitted: "Shipilov absolutely is not a dissident priest, suffering for his religious convictions. Although he is a religious man, he was never ordained in the priest's calling. British vicar Dick Rogers, who has been fighting for reexamination of Shipilov's case, has now said that this information has put him in an extremely awkward position...."

With this, one might end the tragicomic story that occurred last year, and sympathize with Rogers, beguiled in his finest sentiments. Still, I wanted to know how the "persecuted" Shipilov's subsequent lot turned out, and whether he had found the promised land over there, beyond the border. Such an opportunity recently presented itself. "Radio Liberty" reported that Dick Rogers intended to visit Moscow again.

And lo, on 14 April, the Sheremetyevo-2 announcer reported the landing of his airplane from London. After several more minutes, the likable young Englishman gave me an interview.

[Galenkin] Doctor Rogers, our readers are interested in the further lot of Vasily Shipilov....

[Rogers] He is now in America, in the (Jordanville), New York Orthodox Monastery. This is a monastery of the Independent Russian Orthodox Church. The monks in it are kind.

[Galenkin] How is Shipilov feeling?

[Rogers] On the whole—good. However, I think he is very lonely. He does not know English, and experiences difficulty in conversing with people.

[Galenkin] When did you last see him?

[Rogers] In June of last year. I took him to America in an airplane. People from the monastery met him, and I returned on the same airplane. I want to visit him, but I do not have time.

[Galenkin] If it is not a secret, what is the reason for your coming to Moscow?

[Rogers] I have brought an offset printing machine for Ogorodnikov. He informed me that he has bought(!) land, and intends to build a printing office on it, where he will put out "The Christian Public's Bulletin," in which he will begin to defend the Soviet Union's persecuted believers....

[Galenkin] ...?

This is a fraud.... Well, all right—the "Leader of the Russian Religious Renaissance" was able to deceive the Englishman once. But this is the second time! Here in Russia, one "learns better" the first time. Are foggy Albion's inhabitants really so gullible? I doubt it. The horrors in Shipilov's regard simply had faded a bit, Rogers' name had begun to be forgotten, and Ogorodnikov was feeling dejected. (Let us note parenthetically: Rogers, while sitting in his cage and starving, had persistently demanded that Shipilov be allowed to come to England with him. Having achieved this, he immediately sent the unfortunate, sick man to the USA, into the care of compassionate monks.)

Then, in March, after lamenting the lack of a Shipilov successor together for a while, Rogers and Ogorodnikov decided: Why not change the subject? There is not another Shipilov—it will be an offset printing machine! They struck a deal, and Rogers set vigorous activity in motion. He collected a certain total of donations in pounds from trusting Englishmen, supposedly to help a fighter for freedom of conscience in the USSR, acquired the machine, and trumpeted his "ingenious plan" everywhere, at the slightest opportunity.

True, the BBC radio station, in a transmission on 12 April, tried to cool off the fired up Doctor Rogers by explaining to him that official permission is required in the USSR for the use of duplicating equipment; and why, it was asked, such an action with provocative intent, when the machine will not be passed at customs anyway.

The BBC was acknowledging this because it knew: Rogers had sent a letter to the USSR Council of Ministers' Council for Religious Affairs, requesting it to authorize his bringing in the printing equipment for Ogorodnikov, and had received from it the answer that there was no point in bringing the printing machine because it was not intended for any sort of registered religious organization.

Rogers asserts that he received no answers and, for that reason, he says, thought—it was permissible....

Let us also take a look at the other participant in the questionable publicity stunt. Who is he, this "prominent Russian church figure"?

"An humble scholarship, the school of prayer, and asceticism—these are my lot—for, if I censure, I must begin the censure with myself. Otherwise, in censorious enthusiasm, I may take the stance of relating to the world conceitedly, and set myself apart...." Thus does Ogorodnikov appraise his tasks and intentions. They seem entirely honorable. But are they in fact?

Let us take them in order. Thus, his "humble scholarship...." This man has never studied at any religious institution, and has never been ordained, even though the journal OGONEK's issue No 4 for this year calls him a priest. I might add that, having just managed to pass secondary school, he did not study at any other institutions either. Prosecuted three times, he is a spooner of long "standing," even to the present time.

His "school of prayer...." Ogorodnikov prays to a "golden calf" for the most part, and mainly—to dollars, pounds, and marks.... Here is just one example. Last year, for a rather tidy sum with many digits, Ogorodnikov staged a performance for foreign journalists, showing them a "catacombic underground church" with a service, consecrations, and the rest. The scam was found out, but, naturally, Ogorodnikov did not return the money.

And finally, his "asceticism"; that is, his rejection of all temptations. The "minister" denies himself neither fairly fine restaurants, nor fashionable clothing, nor ladies of questionable conduct. To this it should be added that he abandoned his first wife (though they had been married in church) with a son, and his second wife ran him off herself, although she was left with a small child on her hands. As you see, a great deal is lacking in his asceticism....

And yet, in Ogorodnikov's "script" there are splendid words, to which any decent person could subscribe: "for, if I censure, I must begin the censure with myself." I carefully examined a "bulletin" put out by this "hypocrite," hoping to find this sort of "self-censure." Alas! However, the casting of aspersions upon our state and the Orthodox Church—there is as much of this as one might wish.

However, let us return to Sheremetyevo-2, to our "naive" English vicar, who had delivered the printing machine for the "noble knight." What do you think happened at customs? Yes, of course, the cumbersome duplicating apparatus, weighing 130 kilograms, was confiscated, after it had been explained that, according to our law, a private individual does not have the right to print and disseminate periodical publications.

It would seem that everything was clear, and that a clergyman, in particular, should have known "One does not take his own regulations into someone else's monastery," but the story did not end at this, with the printing machine at the airport. Our "naive" doctor, having reached and been encouraged by Ogorodnikov in Moscow, vigorously undertook to prove his correctness at various official levels. He is a determined man—remember how he sat in the cage.... And, on this occasion, he spared neither words nor deeds. He became so enraged that USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs associates had to ask the English Embassy's representatives to call their countryman to order. It should be noted, to the British Embassy's credit, that they obviously understood quickly there what Rogers was, and they gave assurance that they would assist in his earliest possible return to the homeland. E. (Tacker), the Embassy of Great Britain's press attache in Moscow, justly in our view, remarked thus: "We feel that any person entering another country should respect that country's laws. Even if, like Dick Rogers, some person supposes that legality and the laws are not always observed in the Soviet Union, that person should observe these very scrupulously himself."

On 21 April of this year, Mister Rogers flew from Moscow to London. When going through customs inspection prior to his departure flight, the "persecuted" vicar did not wish to take with him the printing machine, which, by the way, is worth a lot of money. True, the money is not his, but that of English believers....

A "Radio Liberty" correspondent interviewed Rogers immediately upon his arrival in England. The question, it should be noted, was put frankly: "Does it not seem to you that there was a certain provocative element in your last trip?"

"I do not think so," answered the doctor. I simply wanted to make a gift of the printing machine to Ogorodnikov."

Well, what can one say here? Pity the kind doctor. Such naivete, such ingenuousness....

But, can it be that Dick Rogers is not so naive, not so ingenuous?

I would let it go at this, but, literally during this article's very publishing, Western radio voices reported that the inseparable Rogers and Ogorodnikov have announced the beginning of a hunger strike for the purpose of obtaining permission to receive the printing machine.

Well, Rogers does not have to become accustomed to prolonged dieting, but it will probably be more difficult for the not-so-ascetic Ogorodnikov. However, what will one not do for the sake of fame: and, also, for the sake of an offset machine.

**"Tyrannical Power of Collectivism" Still Dominates Culture, Country**

18001239 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 24 14 Jun 89 p 11

[Article by Yu. Bogomolov: "A Film for Every Day"]

[Text] One often hears that there are no good films any more and that the audiences are dissatisfied. On the other hand, there is plenty of pulp catering to the mass taste. A closer look at this knot of contradictions helps uncover some rather unexpected things. The proof of this was the latest plenum of the Cinematographers Union, which was finally devoted to art-related issues. The following article by Yu. Bogomolov develops ideas he expressed at the plenum.

Yevgeniy Zamyatin once wrote about the times and practices of the 1920s: "To fix the watermain is difficult, to build a house is difficult, but to build the Tower of Babel is easy."

This is very similar to what is happening today. Or at least to what one feels about what is happening today. Plenty of projects, ideas and plans but still no films that are part of the viewers' daily ration. There are very few films that could properly function as folklore by fostering important everyday virtues, such as kindness, courage, justice and humanity.

Every success in this area, just like the functioning running water, is like a gift from heaven.

During the past two decades, successes of this kind can be counted on the fingers of one hand: "Moscow Doesn't Believe in Tears", "The Crew", "The Meeting Place Cannot Be Changed" and "The Cold Summer of 1953". Some other films may be included too, but it will not change the overall picture.

I want to explain something right away lest I will be misunderstood. While I am calling for properly functioning running water, I am not opposed to building the Tower of Babel. Naturally, I am not against high art, but high art is truly a gift of heaven.

One can never encourage it; one can only refrain from hampering it.

On the other hand, building a cozy and warm cinematic house is something those who live on earth can and should do.

The need for such a house is much more acute than seemed only a short time ago.

It turned out that our level of humanity is very low—and not only among cinematographers, writers and scientists, unfortunately.

The fact that an overwhelming majority of people vote against the abolition of capital punishment means that our society's humanitarian potential is at zero.

At the glorious 5th congress we told our king, the administrative command apparatus, that it had no clothes.

That truth was later corroborated by events. We saw that state was not synonymous with society and that the state as an institution had become Little Zaches whose power over us had grown dangerously totalitarian. We became conscious of the need for sovereignty of the individual and for his spiritual autonomy. Little Zaches has been put to shame and the king without clothes has been deposed; what next?

We have found out, or rather are finding out, something which we fear to admit even to ourselves: namely, that spiritually and in the realm of the soul we, the subjects of the king without clothes, have gotten somewhat down at heel ourselves. The chained dog is sure of itself; it growls and it is rude. But once it is set free it starts to wag its tail. Cast on its own devices it is no longer so confident. It turns out that the chain not only limits the freedom of the guard dog but gives it strength as well. We, too, feel a little uncomfortable without the chain.

This is why we fall into either bilious irritation or apathy. This is why we like building what we will never be able to finish and digging foundation for a structure we are not destined to raise.

I have noticed that in many people, both cinematographers and viewers, perestroika engendered a sense of homelessness, both abstract and social.

Proof of this is offered by even a cursory look on what has appeared on our screens. For now, I will not talk about artistic merit of the films I will mention. But the subject matter alone is telling.

Take "Assa", "Little Vera", "Temptation", "The Keroseneman's Wife", "Little Doll", "Tragedy Rock 'N' Roll Style", "Needle" or the notorious "Organized Crime". All of them are variations on the same theme: man away from home, hanging over the precipice or suspended in the air. No home beckons in the distance, either. The fallen man clings to anything he can find.

Some find consolation in drugs, others in rock 'n' roll. Chegem's Carmen in Yu. Kara's film "Organized Crime" comforts herself by finding safe haven under the wing of an elegant mafioso. But such safe haven is, of course, accidental and unreliable. And, most importantly, we see that our homegrown individualist is not ready for the burden of individualistic life. Unlike Kipling's Cat, he is incapable of walking all by himself for too long. He inevitably attaches himself to a collective. In "Little Doll", the little gymnast expelled from the team, one of



those machines for manufacturing state prestige, tried to become herself and live on her own using her own feelings, but failed. She failed immediately. It is symbolic that she failed twice.

Individualism, which by the very recent standard of our society was a curse, a danger and a disease, has suddenly become an unbearable cross.

This brings to mind Charlie Chaplin. He was a true Kipling's Cat. No state or public institution was ever able to co-opt or integrate him.

It was not that the police, the army, various missionary institutions and charitable societies tried to push out, expel or fire Charlie the Tramp. On the contrary, those mighty organizations bounced off the seemingly tiny man.

He was a tramp, or a bum as we would call him today, but he seemed settled and comfortable. His secret was that his home was within. The high level of personal humanity allowed him to hold his own in a one-on-one struggle against the rational, and later irrational, world that confronted him.

In other words, their dogged individualist turned out to be stronger than our chronic collective being. This is the key to understanding why we find freedom so difficult.

As far as I know, one of the main problems in creating a law-based state is equalizing state and individual rights.

Generally speaking, the hegemony of the mass over the individual and of the sum total over its components is typical of the entire Western world. But in the West it is effected democratically while here it has assumed dictatorial forms.

The system of Stalin's unlimited personal power established here should not deceive. That system was a disguise for the mass.

Naturally, it did not happen all at once. In the October revolution, as in the February revolution, the mass won, but the individual was not totally defeated. Individuality did not yet lose its value, turn into zero, become nonsense.

In our art, collectivism and the collectivist hero began to be asserted and glorified. But those who did it and gave impetus to those movements were strong individuals themselves, such as Mayakovskiy, Eyzenshteyn and Meyerhold.

The individual could well have defended himself had our revolution not become a permanent one. Civil war became the norm of our daily existence.

The ensuing history of our country has been that of a heroic struggle of the mass against alien individual consciousness, with the help of that universal remedy, collectivization.

For me personally, perestroika is an attempt to become free of the dictatorship of the collective. Let me repeat: to become free not of collectivism as a whole but of the tyranny of collectivism, and not of the power of "We" over "I" in any form but of the dictatorship of "We" over "I" in any form.

In cinema, we should begin with a prosaic task, slowly but steadily developing the taste for individual freedom, individual responsibility, personal wealth and personal generosity.

We still hear much talk about making cinema more democratic. It is indeed important, but so is the other side, that of democratizing spiritual and intellectual life.

This latter aspect is largely dependent on the culture of genre cinema, since the latter has the ability to pinpoint subconscious desires, reactions and fears of the masses.

Stanislav Govorukhin, speaking at the opening of one of his films, mentioned the issue of commercial success. He compared it to magic stockings which turn the color of the dress the woman wears. There is a huge demand for these chameleon stockings, and they cost a fortune on the Odessa black market. The director claimed that if he wished he could make a similar chameleon film.

I am not trying to cast doubt on this claim, but I want to voice my deeply felt belief: mass cinema (which is always genre cinema) does not try to adjust to the audience—I exclude purely commercial, speculative efforts—but divines the secret, subconscious taste of the crowd.

Until recently, I used to think that in order to make a good genre film one needs a recipe and some technical skills.

I have changed my mind. Now I think that success in mass cinema requires an irrational effort and an intuitive flash.

In my opinion, Stanislav Govorukhin achieved this only once, in his film "The Meeting Place Cannot Be Changed".

The problem is that there exists an undefined and poorly understood aspect of life known as the collective subconscious.

Very recently, we all witnessed it.

I was not surprised by the success of the series "Izaura the Slave", even though it came out at the height of perestroika, at a time when many people had developed a taste for unsparing authenticity. The surprise was that those who liked the series praised it as highly realistic. That was unexpected.

It was unexpected that people saw this fairy-tale, decorative pastiche as gospel truth.

On the other hand, it could not have been otherwise: in our collective subconscious the line between the desirable and the actual is unclear; it can even be erased completely—something that masters of stalinist mythology could do very well. This is why gluttony in Pyryev's films was seen by the viewers as reality, whereas their own hunger was a dream, a mirage, a ghost.

In other words, it is easier to replace the actual with the desirable in mass consciousness than in individual consciousness.

I have mocked Izaura's travails enough both in print and in speeches. I am still convinced that the "Slave" is worthless as a film, but I think that it has an almost scientific value as a mythical vapor of suppressed mass instincts.

Judge for yourselves. Let us summarize the "Slave's" story. We have two worlds, or two systems: that of the slaves and that of the masters. Izaura is as educated and refined as a mistress but her social status is that of a slave. She is, in other words, a connecting link. The story line does not develop but sways. It is a swing swaying from absolute subjugation to absolute liberty and from the pillory at the plantation to the status of a rightful plantation owner. Even the following dimension is toyed with: once a downtrodden slave of her tormentor, Izaura can become an all-powerful tormentor of her former master. In other words, the main character is given a chance to change places with her master, which she naturally rejects.

With many millions of Soviet citizens gleefully swinging on this plot together with Izaura, one can only imagine how deeply the undercrust of our society—which according to statements heard not so long ago is the most democratic one on earth—has become permeated with the complex of lack of liberty and inequality.

"Izaura" touched a raw nerve in our society's subconscious.

It is absolutely clear that deep within the mass subconscious, myth-forging forces lurk and play their games. They exist in the form of vague foggy areas, or clouds, and every now and again they come down upon us as abundant precipitation, such as "Izaura the Slave" or "Jane Eyre"; the underlying plot of the latter is, incidentally, identical to the "Slave's".

A special trait of our mythological climate is that along with archaic layers which gathered and absorbed ancient instincts of primitive man, it also features miasmas of stalinist mythology. Let me remind you that it was stalinist mythology that deified such collectivist concepts as class, party, state and revolutionary legality.

Therefore, the consciousness of our homegrown mass person is under a double pressure, from the innate and acquired mythologies.

This is probably why our mass audiences have such an exaggerated reaction to works that on other continents have a much more modest success.

I suspect that the same "Izaura", even if it were consumed by Western television viewers, did not elicit as much enthusiasm as it did here.

Our spring of un-freedom turned out to be tighter.

I recall the fantastic success of the legendary "Tarzan" immediately after the war. A superficial observer would have thought that our postwar moviegoers, circumscribed as they were by the values of communal life, would be impervious to that series. But that primeval individualist and denizen of the jungle struck a deep wound in the monolith conscience of Soviet man: he exploded the hidden, repressed complex of individualism.

For many decades, officials of every rank have complained that our kids refuse to play games impersonating Chapayev, Maksim or Chkalov.

Now we can honestly explain why our children first began to play Tarzan and later Fantomas. Those latter were examples of primitive individualism. Chapayev, Chkalov and Maksim were different: they were not individualists but the right wing; they were those who stand at the end of the line and who embody it.

Every period has its own mythological climate. I think that the period of stagnation had a very special impact on our collective subconscious. I infer this from the series "Seventeen Moments of Spring". Many of us were Shtirlitzes on the outside and Isayevs on the inside. That costume ball at Hitler's general staff was nothing but a romanticized and heroic representation of the conformism complex. Based on the smashing success of that series I can confidently say that that complex became part of mass consciousness.

Shtirlitz was a myth which let us climb out of the conformist morass, at least emotionally.

Zheglov was another myth, but it addressed the same issue.

"The Crew" showed that living conditions have an important place in the collective subconscious. They have become a problem. In the second part, the crew's heroic struggle for survival was in reality a struggle against the binding routine in the first part.

The film "Winter Cherry" showed that daily routine has not only become difficult but downright unbearable. The protagonist must choose between an unsettled life with a person she loves and a good life with an extremely handsome man to whom she is, however, indifferent. She finally chooses the former, but the fact that this situation has become cause for serious drama is very telling.

In the film "Interbaby", the protagonist sacrifices everything—her reputation, body, heart and much else—to attain a better life. I do not want to predict whether or not this film will be popular, but if it is it will mean that the mass audience responds primarily to the lure of a different life and that our people have become completely enslaved by their living conditions.

In this respect, I am very interested to see how successful the film "Dark Eyes" will be here. In the hindsight, I can explain its popularity among Western European audiences. It tells the story of a European bourgeois who carouses in non-bourgeois Russia. Apparently, the complex of bourgeois self-satisfaction has entered the mass subconscious there; this complex is presented aesthetically in the film, and it also basks in the reflection of several halos, including those of Chekhov, mysterious Russia and aging Mastroianni.

Here we have a different soil and different climatic conditions. The complex of bourgeois inferiority predominates here. For us, bourgeois experience is exotic, something like Oriental sweets. I fear therefore that the response of Western European bourgeois would be alien to the collectivist soul of the Soviet audience.

As to the film "Organized Crime", its tremendous success is now a fait accompli. And I dare say it was not achieved by poor taste but by divining the secret subconscious fascinations of the masses. The film touched on the most painful subjects: lack of social protection for the individual, his material poverty and pitiful daily life.

The three trump cards were dealt to the audience.

I am not analyzing these films, nor do I offer recipes. I am discussing an immaterial substance—the collective subconscious—which goes into the making of films which S.Govorukhin likened to those chameleon-like stockings.

Sarcastic though we may be about mass art, we can not progress without such cinema.

Without running water it is impossible to build the Tower of Babel.

At a new historical rung, we have once again returned to the issue of the line between high art and mass literature. Belinskiy used to write about it.

Even before him, a Western European observer had written about it in connection with Peter the Great's pre-bourgeois revolution.

"If the czar can not raise in his realm a manufacturer capable of producing fine fabric fetching as much as two guineas per foot, all the less likely is he to raise an astronomer in his state."

The drama of perestroika processes stems primarily from the need to attain spiritual autonomy.

Such autonomy attracts and frightens at the same time. I remember the time when I was discharged from the army. It was the moment of happiness and horror. I was happy because I no longer had to march in a file and terrified because I would have to choose my own path in life and be responsible for every step I would take.

It was a fear of civilian life. I had a shameful desire (which I was unwilling to admit even to myself), to sign up for an extra tour of duty.

The dismay and troubles we now see and feel with our skin stem from the desire for, and fear of, general de-collectivization and doubt whether or not we could become individuals.

It is understandable that many want to sign up for an extra tour, especially those who cannot do anything except issue or obey orders.

Nationalism, both of a street and an office variety, crude as well as intellectual, is a form of extra tour of duty at the Administrative Command System.

Corporativism and gangs are fronts for our instinctive longing for the "We", for the mass; we want to remain ordinary privates who could claim without the tongue-in-cheek innuendo of the original: "If something goes awry it's not our business, such were the Motherland's orders, as the saying goes".

The challenge of spiritual perestroika is that of turning "We" into "I".

But God forbid we were once again seduced by a permanent revolution with an aim of achieving total hegemony for individualistic high art and banishing mass culture!

**Academician Likhachev Decries Low Level of Concern for Culture**

18001173a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 1 Jun 89 p 4

["Text" of Speech by D. S. Likhachev, academician and USSR People's deputy, to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies]

[Text] I will only talk about the state of culture in our country and primarily about its humanities and human parts. I have carefully studied the pre-election platforms of the deputies. It has struck me that the overwhelming majority of them did not even contain the word "culture." During the congress itself, the word "culture" was uttered only on the third day. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has now spoken about it.

Meanwhile, there are no morals in society without culture. Without elementary morals, social and economic laws do not operate, ukases are not fulfilled and modern science cannot exist since it is difficult, for example, to check on the experiments that are facing millions, the enormous plans for the "construction projects of the century," etc.

Our country's low level of culture is having a negative impact on our public life, state work and international relations because national enmity is one of the reasons that a low level of culture exists. People with a high cultural level are not hostile to another nationality and are not belligerent toward another opinion. (Applause). Ignorance of elementary and formal logic and of the elements of law and the absence of the social tact instilled by culture are even having a negative impact on the work of our congress. I do not think that it is necessary to explain this.

Unfortunately, another "residual" principle is also operating with respect to culture. The Soviet Union's Academy of Sciences, where last place has been allotted to humanities culture, testifies to this.

First, the condition of cultural and historical memorials testifies to the extremely low state of culture in our country. Everyone can see this and I will not talk about it. Second, there is the condition of libraries and archives. Incidentally, the next to last issue of SOVETSKAYA KULTURA talked about the latter. That is the way things are both in very large libraries and in small rural ones. Third, there is the condition of museums and the condition of education, especially secondary and elementary where an individual's cultural standards are instilled.

I will begin with libraries. Libraries are the most important item in culture. Universities, institutes and scientific establishments may not exist; however, if libraries exist, if they are not burned down, if they are not flooded with water, if they have buildings, if they are outfitted with modern equipment, if they are headed not by casual

but by professional people—culture will not perish in such a country. (Applause). Meanwhile, our most important libraries in Moscow, Leningrad and other cities are burning like candles—in Leningrad especially. They are being flooded with water, they do not have modern extinguishing equipment, they do not have other modern equipment, and they are extremely cramped in their buildings. I will cite only one example. In 1900, Leningrad University's library raised the question about a shortage of space; however, not a single additional structure has been built as yet. Our country does not have a single (a single!) library completely equipped with modern library equipment. Small fires even originate in the country's main library imeni V. I. Lenin, about which I am especially troubled. Compare this to the Library of Congress in the United States. What can one say about rural libraries? Rayon libraries are frequently closed (for example, the Nekrasovskaya Library in Moscow) because their premises are needed for other purposes. It is the same thing in Leningrad.

Library workers who work with the reader directly—I emphasize that I am not talking about administrators but about workers who work directly with a reader, that is, those who should be able to recommend a book—do not have the time themselves to read and learn about a book or magazine since they are dragging out a moonlighting existence. You can look at the newspaper SOVETSKAYA KULTURA dated 23 April 1989; it quite correctly talks about this there. The average wage of a librarian is 110 rubles—this when the average wage in 1988 was 220 rubles. Rural rayon librarians, who should be the main authorities in the village in training people and recommending a book, receive 80 rubles. Meanwhile, Russia—despite the myth of its alleged backwardness—was the most advanced world library power in the 19th century. I can assert this; but I cannot now prove it. I would remind you that during 1918-1920, meetings of the Council of People's Commissars examined the question of libraries 31 times; if one talks about the commissions of the Council of People's Commissars—more than 50 times.

Now about museums. The picture here is similar—an antediluvian equipping with machinery and appliances. The wages of workers who work with the individual—not those of the administrators but those of the restorers, curators and guides—are intolerably low. They, namely they, are genuine enthusiasts just as the "inferior" library workers. The disastrous state of the restorers is especially unsatisfactory—if they do not make money on the side. Then, they earn a great deal, especially in cooperatives.

We possess countless museum riches despite all the sales that are partially continuing even now. However, the condition of cultural memorials is low and we have been forced to invite restorers from Poland, Bulgaria and Finland. This is many-fold more expensive. The Russian Museum in Leningrad, which—incidentally—has considerably more than the Tretyakovka, has no master



restorers because they cannot live on the miserable wage. It is the same with the Kremlin's restorers. Yesterday, I went to the Kremlin's restoration workshop during the lunch break and climbed up an iron ladder to a garret. It would be interesting to know who of the ministers of culture have gone to these workshops? I think that it was difficult for them to get there. A first-class restorer in Moscow's Kremlin receives 150 rubles. What does a first-class restorer mean? It is equivalent to a doctor of sciences. Such are the requirements for first-class restorers. The Russian Museum in Leningrad has no scientist restorers because no one is becoming an apprentice to the restorers: Wages are too low.

Our schools—again the same picture or even worse. It is now necessary to simply speak in support of the children and teachers. School teachers do not have respect and do not have the time to widen their knowledge. I can cite examples but I will not. Various programs that imitate the command and administrative methods of the past, regulating instructions and methods of low quality are suffocating teaching. In secondary school, teaching is primarily indoctrination. It is a teacher's creativity, and there cannot be any creativity without freedom. It requires freedom. That is why a teacher should have the opportunity to tell students about what he himself likes and values and to instill a love for literature, art, etc., without a program.

I would point out that the pupils themselves are noting these serious shortcomings in our press. In Russia, teachers have always been the dominant influence on youth. However, today's teacher does not have the resources to exist and dress more or less presentably.

You will ask where the money will be taken from in order to increase the standard of living of people whose profession is to work with people—with people and not with things. I am a realist. Risking the danger of making a number of enemies for myself among my comrades, I will say that, first, it is necessary to reduce—and very decisively—the administrative staff of all cultural establishments and ministries, which have grown excessively and become very well-to-do. (Applause). Let the authors of instructional methods themselves teach using their instructional methods and let them implement these instructions. Let them protect monuments, let them lead excursions, that is, let the ministry workers work.

Museums must be given assets from the Inturist income which is received from our poorly preserved cultural valuables. They told me yesterday that Inturist is ready to give 20 percent of its income to restore monuments. This is a splendid initiative by Inturist. It is necessary to support and brag about it in every way possible so that it does not remain only words. (Applause). It is necessary to allocate more assets to culture from the reduction in military expenditures, which Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has mentioned, and from the reduction of material aid to other countries and help from our people's assets, about which we have been poorly informed. (Applause).

Culture cannot be placed under cost accounting. Culture's return to the people and to the country is immeasurably more than that from the possible direct incomes of libraries, archives and museums and more than that from any economic and technical area. I maintain this. However, this return is not provided immediately. The low state of culture and morals and the increase in crime will make all of our efforts in any area futile and useless. We will not manage to reform the economy, science and public life and promote restructuring if our culture remains at the present level.

It is necessary to improve the Ministry of Culture's work substantially. They continually appeal to us in the Funds of Soviet Culture concerning matters that have not been solved in the ministries of culture. The ministries of culture should also be concerned about the outlying districts. We export very many exhibits abroad. However, we do not export exhibits to our outlying cities. We have very enormous store-rooms in our museums. However, the organizing of exhibits based on these store-rooms is carried out very rarely and very poorly in the outlying cities to raise the cultural life and cultural interests of a city.

It is necessary to pay special attention to museums in the outlying districts and to outlying and rural libraries. It is necessary to organize permanent exhibits from our store-rooms in the outlying districts.

There should be a long-term program for developing culture in our country; such a program does not exist or at least is not known to me. Only then will we not have the national arguments that testify to a low level of culture; in return, there will be a normal economic life and crime will be reduced. In particular, the honesty of public figures will also grow.

Permit me to read an extract from a letter that was sent to our Komsomol which should be especially concerned about raising cultural standards. This letter expresses the opinion of millions of our mothers and teachers. I quote: "Since the Komsomol is trying to show its expediency and the necessity for its existence as a public organization in every possible way, it is necessary for its staff and the people's deputies, who were elected along Komsomol lines, to assume complete responsibility for the state of affairs in the country connected with the increase in child neglect. In my opinion, these comrades do not have the right to be complacent while even one single minor male or female fellow-citizen of ours is being treated outrageously or compelled by those already grown up who have been corrupted by our society and who are now corrupting other teen-agers. Comrades, it is time for many citizens to tear themselves away from from their mercantile concerns and from their comfortable chairs and armchairs and to—literally—descend into the gateway, basement and perhaps even deeper in order to participate actively in their life so as to halt the processes corrupting youth, which are occurring everywhere."

The fate of the motherland is in your hands and it is in danger. Thank you for your attention. (Applause).



**Documentary Film on Problems of Soviet Agriculture**

18001173b Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 May 89 Second Edition p 6

[Article by A. Ladynin: "Monologue On A Sore Subject"]

[Text] The earth and sky have vanished; all around—the taiga, rivers.... One can only say that the sun will shine for him and become dim for others; well, let it become dim....!

Remembered words. Words that sounded like a verdict for our indifference, for our social passivity and for what had been instilled in us for decades: Be silent, do not show yourself...! To tell the truth, I left the viewing room of the Central Documentary Film Studio as if I were leaving a courtroom. The feeling for the depth of the picture "Viktor Astafyev. There Is No Answer for Me", which had been created by the producer O. Lebedev and script writer V. Ilinskiy, came later when this difficult reel of film went around again in my memory, starting with the words:

"Again and again, I was astonished at how much a peasant had to be good at: build housing out of logs, make it habitable in winter and decorate it; provide work implements for himself; know how to handle cattle and draught animals; know the weather and the whims of nature; be a good tutor, warrior, creator, diplomat, a cunning person, a good husband, proprietor, father..."

What could knock over such an individual, transform him into a sluggish person and move him to the category of those who "do not plant cabbages, boil anything, and buy everything in the city beginning with milk."

One might as well exclaim following Viktor Petrovich Astafyev, a USSR people's deputy:

"They have come to this, so to speak. Such an abnormality.... There were many adventurers among the authorities; all of them wanted to become famous rather than to make us happy—well, they did...."

Where does this come from? Why did people break away from their native places and rush to the cities—and there, huddled together, half urban and half rural, form their own breed of "tumble-weeds?" Even in the darkness of the viewing room, why did one become ashamed when he saw a woman, who was dragging bags with produce from Moscow along a platform and who answered the question of a correspondent who delved into every detail: "You see, we traveled to Moscow not for produce; that is so. We traveled, we walked, we visited the Mausoleum and the Lenin Hills—the hills are the most ...."

No, you will not explain anything only with quotations from the film. You must follow the entire fate of Viktor Astafyev, which unfolds before you on the screen. A fate which contains his childhood impressions from the first years of collectivization, the Great Patriotic War, the disintegration of his village, and, finally, our difficulties today. What kind of film is this—in genre and form? As they say, it is a monologue "about the times and about oneself" especially since the creation of the picture coincided with the occasion of the writer's jubilee. But no, the words that sound from the screen are not similar to a jubilee speech:

"One must feed the people and then require some kind of action, labor productivity and product quality from them .... While we stand in lines and wait in the villages for bread from morning to three o'clock in the afternoon, all discussions and complacency are useless. Perhaps some enthusiasm can last for a year or two but it will then run short. If one does not rebuild the rural economy, save the land and find ways to produce one's products...."

No, these are not jubilee speeches, rather, they are a "monologue about a sore subject." About what is troubling the rural artist who dreams on his canvas about a happy life, the last village accordion player, an old man who plays dominoes by himself in an empty hut, and a village blacksmith. This "explodes" in answer to the questions of one who delves too deeply.... Pain lives in all of these people. It has also been compressed into the sequences of the documentary film that alternate with today's film shootings.

It has long since taken shape in our literature that a writer's most difficult mission is to tell the truth to his contemporaries. Today, great courage is required for such revelations just as it evidently always was.

The picture "Viktor Astafyev. There Is No Answer For Me" has begun its journey to the viewer and the inhabitants of Sverdlovsk and other cities in the Urals have been the first to see it during these days.

**Soviets Films Difficult To Market, Claims Soveksportfilm**

18001172a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 27 May 89p 4

[Interview with USSR Soveksportfilm officials by correspondent V. Kichin: "Film as Goods: A Frank Conversation With 'Soveksportfilm'"]

[Text] Film is not only something to be watched. Film is bought and sold. "Soveksportfilm" is in business to give us the opportunity to enjoy foreign masterpieces and to ensure that our films are seen abroad. And yet it is criticized on both counts. Although film exchanges are

increasing before our very eyes, the demand for them is growing even faster. And the criticism that can be heard is sometimes destructive. Isn't it time to have this out and get to the bottom of it?

We are in the office of Oleg Rudnev, the general director of "Sovetskportfilm." With him are his colleagues, Yuriy Kolosov, Viktor Tarasov, Aleksandr Novikov, and Oleg Sulkin. Their individual comments merged into a single emotional monologue, so coherent that, for the reader's convenience, we will reproduce the discussion without distinguishing names and positions.

[Correspondent] Let me summarize several accusations made about you in the press. "The Art of the Film" expressed the opinion that you work in complete secrecy and do not give the creative people information about how their films are doing abroad. The papers have informed us that our foreign partners do not get sufficient information either and that "Sovetskportfilm" holds on to all the income from the sale of films. More than once, dissatisfaction has been voiced concerning the films we buy to distribute in the USSR. Let us try to get to the bottom of all this.

[Sovetskportfilm] Let us begin with the question of information. We regularly give all the information concerning the sale of films to the studios: what has been sold, to whom, for how much, how the situation has developed, and what kind of interest is being shown in us. And if the heads of the studios would pass this information on to the people who work there, then the studios would know, for example, that the myth about the universal success of even our best films is nothing more than a myth. And this must be understood, especially when the studios are placing so much hope on cost accounting and independent foreign trade activity. The director of the "Gruziyafilm" studio, R. Chkhendze, writes about the enormous earnings of Georgian films, which are supposedly kept by "Sovetskportfilm." But here are the facts. Yes, "Repentance" was the only film in the entire history of the Soviet film industry that brought in a total of more than a million dollars. Neither "Moscow Doesn't Believe in Tears" nor "Commissar"—our previous record holders, approached this limit. But it is also true that the film did not live up to the hopes of the foreign film distributors and was not a success with the audience. "Ashik-Kerib," which R. Chkhendze also refers to, was sold for quite a small price.

The largest film market in the world is in Los Angeles. We took "Ashik-Kerib," "Servant," and "Solovets Power" there, but only the latter film evoked any interest. And yet the hall had been rented, and the press informed, and there had been advertising and pamphlets, and all possible information—everything had been done. The largest distributors in the world watched our films, but did not make an offer for them. Yet these are the best we have today. Thus, perhaps we should finally give some thought to the quality of the goods we have to do business with.

Elem Klimov once remarked that we have inundated the Soviet screen with a gray flood of mediocrity. Andrey Smirnov said that 90 percent of our pictures do not catch the audience's interest. And he was speaking about the Soviet audience—to say nothing about the foreign one!

The press has more than once written about the disgusting quality of the picture and sound in our films, about the lack of professionalism of many screen writers, directors, and actors. And all this is the sad truth. But the reason people don't want to watch us runs deeper. The president of "Twentieth Century Fox," Jean-Louis Ruben, for example, believes that the problem is not just that the majority of Soviet films are long and slow moving, boring, and amorphous in genre, but also that the philosophy that is embodied in them—their extremism, cruelty, way of thinking—is unpleasant to the viewer. He was seconded by a Japanese fellow distributor. "Your films," he said, "are cruel, terribly cruel." We responded, "But what about American and Japanese films, are you claiming they are not cruel?" "Oh no," they answered. "That is a game, a fairy tale, in which we tell the audience, 'Watch out, now we are going to scare you.'" And the viewer comes to see them because of these violent sensations and this kind of frenzy, as if going to see a house of horrors. But with you it's all meant seriously."

[Correspondent] Obviously, one could answer here, "Well, let them think what they want, we are not making films for them, we have our own way of thinking, and it is not for export."

[Sovetskportfilm] But then why isn't our own audience in a hurry to see these films? Why, to be frank, is the whole Soviet film industry supported today by money obtained from the distribution of foreign films? Everyone seems to forget this circumstance; it is not even considered in the new model of the film industry. Our film industry today is in no state to feed itself. We completely refuse to understand that the viewer does not go to the movies to suffer or to put salt on his wounds. [Correspondent] The film industry is being put on a cost accounting basis. They are going to have to understand.

[Sovetskportfilm] You know, if one is going to talk about cost accounting and self-financing, one must do it seriously and competently. Our film is in such a state of impoverishment and neglect that before speaking about cost accounting, to say nothing of self-financing, we first have to solve a number of fundamental problems. We do not have a single decently equipped studio. There is no modern film distribution network—we are not even talking about the quality of the film showing, the majority of "points" [i.e., theaters] aren't even heated. Our films are the cheapest possible in the direct meaning of the word, the sets are cheap, the editing is primitive, they are poor as spectacles, and not competitive in either the foreign or domestic market. And to speak seriously about cost accounting, we have to make our films more expensive—we need resources.

Where are they to be found? Many suppose that they will automatically be produced by cost accounting. But our cost accounting is our talent, our capacity for making a film vibrant and attractive. We are far from advocating the sanctimonious thesis that ideology and commerce are two different things. An ideological effect can be attained only through a commercial route. In order to perceive the idea of a film, the viewer must first go to see it. And this can only be achieved through artistic quality.

[Correspondent] Are these businessmen who are talking?

[Sovetsportfilm] Yes, because, if everyone is occupied with business, who will produce art? "Sovetsportfilm" is a professional organization. We are specialists in film marketing, in advertising—that is our business. We have established contacts with foreign partners, we have experience, and future prospects. For many years we have been ordered to deal not in commerce, but in propaganda in favor of Soviet film. We have taken and are taking many measures which have produced no profit. But they introduce people abroad to our film—this is an important part of our work. And when the directors complain about us, that we sell pictures for "a song," for example in Africa, they simply do not understand the essence of what we are doing. After all, any other way and Africa would not see these films at all. For the information of our severest critics, the American film industry gives this same Africa hundreds of pictures, and sells films for virtually nothing in Poland or Bulgaria, recently giving 50 fine films to China. The Americans understand that there will be no special income here, but they want their films to be popular here—this produces intangible dividends now and promises financial ones for the future. We insist that Africa pay, if only a kopeck. But this is simply not farsighted. And cost accounting cannot be understood so primitively and utilitarianly—merely as profit attained by any means. There are also cultural and financial politics.

Now, the studios have been granted the right to enter the foreign trade market independently. And it is high time. If the director of a studio receives an interesting proposal abroad, why tie his hands? But if the studios are going to occupy themselves solely with commerce, who will make films? If the tendency we are beginning to see now continues, a catastrophe awaits us. Soviet film may disappear from the international screen. And this, you see, will happen because the studio, of course, is trying to exercise its right to engage in foreign trade activity. Some of them have already refused to make films for social distribution, which we distribute throughout the globe. They are refusing to give their pictures to socialist nations, which we never made money on and never attempted to. Thus, Soviet films will disappear in Prague, and then in Nigeria, then some film or other will be sold in Paris, but will not appear in Sweden at all. Soviet film as a phenomenon will simply drop out of sight.

"Mosfilm" has obtained for itself a unique right—to be given 90 percent of the foreign exchange profit for its studio fund. And this is fair. But at the same time, they

have refused to donate foreign exchange to the general Soviet film fund, for the development of national (i.e., Soviet ethnic minority) cinematographies. Everyone is beginning to slink off into their own little corners, to serve only their own short term interests. And this is getting dangerous.

Let us return to the legends about the "fabulous income" that "Sovetsportfilm" is supposed to be raking in. Do the studios know that the expenses for advertising, transport, printing copies, duplicating and subtitles, renting of film theaters, etc., are several times higher today than the income we get from the sale of the majority of their films?

In the past "Sovetsportfilm" had for its use, in spite of the legends, only 1.5 percent of the foreign exchange income. The remainder went into the treasury. Today "Sovetsportfilm" has been granted the right to give the studios 75 percent! We fought for a long time for this opportunity, without which it would not have been possible to develop our film industry at all. We intend to attempt to reach a stage where the studios receive the whole 100 percent. After all we trade in licenses and licenses are not taxed. But to achieve success, we have to unite our forces, and not dissipate them. For the time being we have been compelled to act not only in isolation, but also under fire from criticism that is frequently unfair.

[Correspondent] Nevertheless, there has been criticism and the studios are actively setting up their own foreign contacts. They are showing initiative, isn't this in the spirit of the times?

[Sovetsportfilm] Granted, especially since this is a process of decentralization; just like in the West, where there is no state monopoly on foreign trade. But what is going on reminds me of the well-known story about the attempt to introduce driving on the right in England—they started with a trial using a single street. If we wish to do business the way they do in the West, we have to accept the rules of their game. But we wish to retain planned management and a state monopoly, and yet at the same time are attempting to attain some kind of autonomous organizational pluralism. And this pluralism leads to situations such as occurred at a seminar in Los Angeles, where some fellow named Anatoliy Fradis, who had left the USSR at some point, stood up and blandished a paper saying that he was the sole authorized representative of "Mosfilm." And this gave rise to general consternation, although at least, it was not taken seriously. Dilettantism, unreliability in business only undermines faith in us. The business people of the West simply do not know which door to knock on and whom to believe; since the representatives of our studios and agencies come to the West, each with his own version. They themselves still do not know what is happening here, but they are already trying to snow the whole world.

This is not the pluralism we have been dreaming of, this is the old fable of the Swan, Lobster, and Pike [who couldn't pull a cart because they pulled in different directions], or, even better, a tug of war. Someone, getting carried away, has quoted Napoleon to the effect that: first let's get into the fight and later on we'll reconnoiter. At the same time everyone understands that while you can jump off of a roof recklessly, you cannot jump back up onto it. Moreover, Napoleon, up until the last second of his life remained true to his goals. Other people portentously reason that before we can come together we have to move apart. But we were never united: Gosteleradio, the Ministry of Culture, the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Contacts with Foreign Countries, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and other assorted societies have all tried to tug the blanket over to their own side of the bed. Our rivals in the West have united and created various MPAA's, Yunifrans, Association of Americans Exporters, etc., etc. All we have done is spread out our fingers, when we should have made a fist in order to concentrate our already scanty powers. Even in the Goskino itself, we could not develop a single coherent program of international activity. As a result, we have the Board of Foreign Relations, "Sovinterfest," "Soveksportfilm," "Soyuzkino servis," and now they have added "Videofilm"—what monopoly are they talking about?

We are in favor of everyone attending to his own business and having full freedom of operation. We too are working in a new way because of this. But why are the studios so confident that they will do any better? Why is dilettantism better than professionalism? With all its experience, "Soveksportfilm" is only now, when we have been given totally new opportunities, beginning to utilize the full potential of our profession offers. But our "competitors" are joining up with partners they have found by chance and, for some reason, are sure that everything will go smoothly now that they have escaped from under the thumbs of those "pernicious bureaucrats."

But in the business world there is an excellent principle: everyone must carry his own briefcase. And everything goes smoothly only when everyone does his own job well.

[Correspondent] Let us talk about buying films abroad. Have the principle of selecting films for our screen changed?

[Soveksportfilm] Here too, of course, we are being blamed for everything. Although now, when the hypothetical restrictions (which we were not the ones to introduce) have been lifted, better films by major artists are beginning to appear on the screen. But there is also garbage. And again the problem is not our perniciousness; there are objective causes that have to be eliminated. The first of these is that we simply have no money. We bid for virtually all major films. But we have 3.5 million per year in freely convertible exchange. And do you know what the price is today for the film classic "Gone With the Wind," which the viewers keep asking

us to show? Exactly three million—that is almost our entire budget. The average cost of films is 150-200 thousand. The filmmakers know their worth. At the same time they are very well informed of what a boundless market we have, and of the fact that here the viewer goes to the movies 15 times a year and not 3-4 times as in France. In addition, while we are going through the required multistep procedure for authorizing purchases, while the proposal to buy a film is navigating our bureaucratic shallows, time is lost, during which the film may win an "Oscar" or get ecstatic reviews causing its price to rise sharply.

For this reason it is essential that this system, under which no one is responsible for anything, be radically simplified. There must be a single commission which will take upon itself the function of monitoring the moral acceptability of films and their conformance with the standards in our constitution. And they must start with the presumption that the film is acceptable, and if they "close" it, they must justify their decision. Otherwise we will continue to be condemned to subjectivism and cultural isolation.

But here we have to attend to one important circumstance—the question of how ready our audience is to appreciate art. After all, speaking frankly, this is the same audience that demands cinematic schlock—Indian junk, "Bingo-Bongo," saccharin melodramas, and similar nonsense. We currently are standing up for our principles and are attempting to obtain the most significant works of international film. And what happens? We are still criticized. For low quality junk such as "Angelique" or "Disco Dancer"? Not at all. We are catching it now for "8 1/2," "Amadeus," and "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest," etc. The audiences "vote with their feet"—in general they simply don't go to these films. And this makes our prospects even worse.

What is the answer? The time has come for differentiated distribution. The entire polemic, between what we might call Govorukhin's camp and Sokurov's is senseless, since both should exist on the screen, the way they do throughout the world. The viewer must have the opportunity to freely choose between Govorukhin and Sokurov, between Spielberg and Bergmann... Only in this way can there be a rational solution.

If a "club" system of film distribution were set up, then we could buy highly artistic works much more cheaply, since we could guarantee that they would not enter the commercial network. For the time being, our distribution conditions force the movie theaters to give precedence to "Bingo-Bongo."

Finally, we must confess, the system governing our relations with foreign partners is archaic and ridiculous. On the one hand, we want to participate in the international economic and cultural process on an equal basis; on the other hand, we remain far from the generally accepted principles of economic collaboration. There is a



rule that the firm which sells a film receives a guaranteed fee and then, after this has been recouped, gets a percentage of further profits. The whole world works on this system, except for us. We buy a film at the lowest possible price and then try to squeeze everything that we can out of it. In the past Western businessmen have accepted this, since there wasn't any other way to collaborate with us. Now the situation has changed. We are planning to participate in the common international economic process. And again we must either accept the common rules of play, or forget about these pretensions. Otherwise, we risk ending up in isolation.

We are not maintaining parity in another area. What do our foreign partners tell us? If you want to build theaters in the US for Soviet films, go ahead. Show whatever films you like there—you will have complete freedom of operation. But when, in response, the Americans, or French, or Indians propose to build private movie theaters here at their own expense, equipped with the latest in technology, we say "no." Why? The partners have agreed to our favorite conditions. The Americans have agreed that control over the repertoire will be given to the Soviets, and that aside from American films, any other films can be shown in their theaters. They have agreed to take their portion of the profits in rubles and not to take them out of the USSR, but to spend them on development of our film studios. They are willing to build multiplex, comfortable film theaters—in essence, world class cultural centers—in Moscow, Leningrad, and other large cities. This should not be opposed, in our opinion; we ourselves are attempting to eliminate the barriers. And they have already been broken in effect for a long time: all Western movies can be seen on videocassettes. Our country has long ceased to be isolated from the West and to think that these movie theaters will become a source of moral decay is absurd.

But for some inexplicable reason we are delaying the decision, which will come inexorably sooner or later and this delay is costing us a great deal.

[Correspondent] So tell us briefly, what do you conceive the work of "Sovetskportfilm" to be, given the new conditions existing in our country?

[Sovetskportfilm] Much depends on how we succeed in replacing the war of ambition with collaboration and unified forces. "Sovetskportfilm" has international authority, experience, and extensive contacts. Now new opportunities have appeared. We have to use them wisely. "Mosfilm" is attempting to develop its own contacts, as are other studios—fine. But we need a single organization, capable of conducting, not only economic, but cultural policies. In addition, total cost accounting would unavoidably kill off serious art—just as it would crowd classical music off the shelves of record stores.

What is "Sovetskportfilm" now? It is a producer, not merely a middleman. In the past we were forced to distribute poor, but "required" films. That is, we had to

perform a hopeless task. Now we will work only with the better films. We will organize joint showings, and perform the services of a middle man. You want to find partners abroad?—go ahead. To find a hall?—we will search one out. Film?—we will provide it. But we will participate only in joint showings that can be successful, both artistically and commercially.

We have been given the task of social distribution. The question of whether "Sovetskportfilm" itself will sell the films purchased abroad is being decided. We are beginning to collaborate with Gosteleradio and the Novosti News Agency. We are organizing our own cable television network, stockholders associations, and joint state and private enterprises. We are hoping to reorganize "Sovetskiy Film," the journal we publish in five languages and to conduct a very serious dialogue on filmmaking in it—since in-depth familiarity with art is its best advertisement.

To be even briefer, in front of us is a limitless field of activity.

#### **Goskino's Kamshalov Previews Moscow Film Festival**

18001172b Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in  
Russian No 223-9 Jun 89p 8

[Article by R. Rykova: "Last Week 6962 Questions Were Sent To The Editors"]

[Text] This summer, the Sixteenth International Moscow Film Festival will be held in the capital. I came to Moscow for the Fifteenth Festival and, to be frank, was disillusioned by both its program and its organization. Has anything changed over the last year? R. Semenyaka, Kiev.

#### **The Chairman of USSR Goskino, A. Kamshalov, Replies.**

Yes, the current film festival will differ from the last in many respects. This time we have made the job of the audience easier: the screen for international film-viewing will be completely devoted to fictional, adult films; documentary and childrens' films will now have their own festivals. The competitive program will be reduced to 17-20 films. But the main thing is the new criterion for selection of film productions. While frequently in the past the Moscow Film Festival turned into a competition among nations and not films, today the artistic level of the films themselves will be the sole deciding factor.

The films will be selected by a special commission, which will be headed by the Secretary of the board of of the USSR Filmmakers' Union, A. Plakhov. Its members traveled to the US, France, England, Spain, and other countries to select the best motion pictures.

As for Soviet pictures, the commission has still not decided which of them are worthy of entering the competition of the grand prize of the festival. I can only say that the candidates include talented work by the young directors K. Lopushanskiy, S. Ovcharov, and A. Itygilov.

Aside from the competitive program the festival will also have informational programs. These will be titled: "Films winning European film festival prizes," "Foreign screen productions based on works of Russian and Soviet literature," "The works of G. Garcia Marquez in

cinematography." The festival will also include retrospective showings of the films of Bergmann and Bunuel. The audience will be able to see the masterpieces of world film in the "Zaryadye" movie theater. These films will be shown in a series entitled "Film Panorama."

The jury for the Sixteenth Moscow International Film Festival will include 11 leading directors, actors and producers, from the US Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands, China, and Yugoslavia. The jury will be headed by the outstanding Polish director Andrzej Vaida.

**Director Yadov on Past, Future of Soviet Sociology**

18300642 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 May 89  
p 3

[Article by B. Yadov, director of the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, doctor of philosophical sciences: "The Sociology of Perestroyka and the Perestroyka of Sociology"]

[Text] Sociology has been identified with the polling of public opinion. This is a fact. At the same time, this is a very superficial notion of the subject and functions of sociological knowledge. Sociology is one of the sciences which, like any science, develops according to its own laws. Only very recently did it come to be called by its full name. Prior to the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee (1988) "On Raising the Role of Marxist-Leninist Sociology in Resolving Key Social Problems of Soviet Society," the official status of sociology in our social science was accompanied by the stipulating definition of "applied."

But it was as an applied science that sociology suffered hard birth pangs. In its early childhood at the end of the 1950s and the mid-1960s, it came under fire of the harshest criticism with the applying of the classic tags: "bourgeois" which preached "creeping empiricism" and the "fetishizing of number." The paradox is that being accused of creeping empiricism it was precisely as such that it became acceptable. The sociologist was permitted to be concerned with social development plans and study the reasons of family instability, personnel turnover, to describe the way of life and time budgets.... Under one condition: do not take up the deep-seated reasons of the "key" social problems of society. These problems were driven deep inside and stifled by showy speeches concerning supposed successes on all fronts of national economic development and the development of social uniformity and a socialist way of life.

We lived through our own "Lysenko period" in 1971: the Academy of Social Sciences Under the CPSU Central Committee noisily discussed the lectures of Yu. Levada on sociology and then followed an "unmasking" in the journal KOMMUNIST. After this the most uncompromising and competent of the pioneers of reborn sociology were driven into the quiet backwaters where they worked at a desk, they were expelled from the head Academy Institute of Concrete Social Research, they left for related areas of knowledge, for example, for social psychology, where they could be engaged in science as now it was involved with such "nonessential" matters as the individual and small groups. The last outburst of persecution of sociology concerned with the major problems of the stagnant economy and social life was directed against Academicians A. Aganbegyan and T. Zaslavskaya. They have been so bold as to state what was publically announced at the April (1985) Plenum of the

CPSU Central Committee. At that time, in 1983, the authors of the scandalous "Report of Novosibirsk Sociologists" were "awarded" party reprimands.

But let us return to the problems of today. There is the fundamental question of in what sense can one speak about sociology as Marxist-Leninist? Is such a clarification necessary? The definition of "Marxist-Leninist" relates to theoretical sociology and not to applied. Neither the methods nor the techniques of sociological research nor the particular sociological models (for example, the family) are Marxist or non-Marxist. The area of applied research only in a most indirect manner is linked to the theoretical and philosophical views of the sociologist. The vulgarizing notions on this question end up as judgments similar to the one that was voiced in the title of an article reprinted in our press from the period of the Cultural Revolution in China: "The Ideas of the Great Mao Help Grow Watermelons." In the not-so-distant past, approximately similar slogans were proclaimed by our domestic ideologists, naturally, in terms of the ideas of the "father of the peoples" and the leading figure in all sciences.

In scientific sociology, where we have fallen immeasurably behind the world level, nothing should be accepted on faith. I do not feel that we must feel out the theoretical bases of the wholeness and systematic nature of revolutionary perestroyka and let us not as we did at one time block the path for the development of sociology as a valid science without the restricting standard of "applied." The same Yu. Levada in KOMMUNIST (No 2, 1989) analyzes the structural process of social shifts, the mechanism of the relative lag and rushing forward in changes in the integral system of social transformations with the corresponding conclusions in the area of the economy, sociopolitical life, mass awareness and generally the possibilities of the planned regulation of perestroyka. If we were a bit more foresighted and free of ideological blinders how far ahead our understanding would advance of the real concrete features of social life as investigated by the world science, sociology, in particular.

The main thing that confronts sociology is to take part in working out a scientific concept of socialism in the 21st Century, for social scientists have no more important task. Employing the apparatus of knowledge accessible to sociology we must provide a scientific analysis of the alternatives for the development of socialism as a stage in the on-going advance of world civilization in a context of the realities of the modern world: the technological revolution, the abilities of socioeconomic and political systems to assimilate the achievements of scientific and technical progress for the good of society, to protect mankind against the threat of ecological disaster and to find the optimum ways for the collaboration of all peoples and countries considering particular interests be they class, nationality and state.

Here sociology acts as only one of the components of social science knowledge. It should develop precisely in this direction. We paid too much for the humiliating of the scientists who "were concerned with some drosophila fly rather than increasing the harvest yield."

The contribution of sociology to elaborating a new concept of socialism is seen in having sociological knowledge and concrete sociological analysis assist in shaping the long-term and immediate social policy of the state considering the realities of the sociocultural features in our society. As was correctly pointed out by I. Bestuzhev-Lada, socialism is a social ideal, a definite social policy (it is also carried out in nonsocialist countries), a transitional period from capitalism to communism and, finally, a specific society which we term real socialism with only the stipulation that the "real" must be perceived without the quote signs, that is, to see the truth about social reality.

In the last instance, the role of sociology is invaluable. For example, how does a sociologist view the problem of the individual? He starts with the historical and cultural traditions. For example, the Russian Orthodox world view depicts the image of man as the object of extraterrestrial forces and labor as God's punishment. In our cultural and historical tradition, reliance on God, the leader, the collective, on whomever—has become a socially recognized standard of daily life. The suppression of individuality and personal initiative conformed perfectly to the traditional sociocultural context.

Sociology together with social psychology must investigate these realities and analyze the practice of destroying the inert structures of social organization. Are the sociologists ready to carry out this social imperative?

The independent social science of sociology has a general theory (general sociology) and numerous applied theoretical areas. These are often termed "sectorial" or particular sociologies. The subject area of the special sociological theories and corresponding empirical research is extraordinarily broad: the social structure and social organization, social institutions and social processes.... In turn, in the course of the development of sociological knowledge, these subject areas have been split up into numerous even narrower areas, for example, the sociology of labor and the production organization, the sociology of law, the family, and various sociodemographic groups such as the young, the elderly and sex sociology. Within the Soviet Sociological Association there are 18 research committees and in the International Sociological Association there are more than 45. This shows the development of the science and the ever-deeper penetration into the fine matter of the social processes of a modern society.

In such diversity we finally discover that very area which has become to be associated with sociology as the sole respectful undertaking, that is, the investigating of public

opinion. One can understand why such a thing happened. The result of public opinion polls are a direct contribution to the development of the democratic process and to perestroika. It is precisely here that society feels a burning need for constantly updated information. Public opinion is changeable and fluid. And its fluctuations are felt today in the practice of sociopolitical life in a completely persuasive manner. For instance, a group of co-workers from the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences Under the Leadership of A. Demidov took, I would say, a professional risk in trying to predict the results of the elections of people's deputies, including for the Sevastopolskiy Territorial District of Moscow, where the institute is located. Here three candidates were up for election: Academician O. Bogomolov, the director of the Institute for the Economics of the World Socialist System, the First Secretary of the CPSU Raykom A. Bryachikhin and a brigade leader from the Machine Plant No. 2, A. Seredin.

A poll was taken 2 weeks before the elections and on the eve of the voting.

Initially, O. Bogomolov was ahead with a slight lead over A. Bryachikhin. A. Seredin could not count on victory. Both candidates had a real chance to win over the votes of the electors, for almost 40 percent still had not decided for whom they would vote. On the eve of the elections, the situation favored O. Bogomolov with a great lead over the closest rival. The prediction of A. Demidov (considering the statistical distributions according to the composition of those questions) was as follows: Bogomolov would be victorious in the first round with a minimal lead. Having received this information, I told the Vice President of the Academy of Sciences V. Kudryavtsev that tomorrow we would be convinced of the magical force of sociology. And if the forecast literally on the brink of the acceptable error were confirmed, then yet another proof would be obtained that sociologists need resources for setting up a nationwide network of interviewers. The forecast was brilliantly confirmed.

As yet we do not have the funds for establishing a nationwide network. At the same time, extensive national networks of interviewers (and not just one!) are completely essential not only for up-to-the-minute polls but also for profound research on the social processes. Without this society and its social institutions and primarily the Supreme Soviet and the Party Central Committee, cannot take optimum decisions either in the area of legislation or in the other directions of working out an economic and social policy. The opinions and positions of the different strata of the population, particularly in points of social tension, are of crucial significance also for preventing social aggravations and for adjusting state measures for the immediate future and predicting the longer run.

Let us take the rather complicated situation in interethnic relations in Estonia. What do the public opinion polls



show? Here are certain data for the beginning of January of this year (poll taken by the Sociology Institute together with Estonian colleagues).

Will the standard of living go up over the next 2 or 3 years?—This was the question asked. "Yes, it will go up," replied 27 percent of those questioned of the non-Estonian population and 15 percent of the Estonians. "No, economic difficulties will constantly be with us" was the viewpoint of 30 percent of the poll participants from the "non-Estonians" and 55 percent of the indigenous inhabitants.

In terms of the hopes of the intensification and efficiency of the republic economy, the Russian-speaking population was more optimistic, was it not? To what degree is the Russian-speaking population concerned by the fact that as a consequence of the occurring events, obstacles will arise on the expression of their interests? They assume that last year there were more opportunities for expressing their opinion and views for some 72 percent of the Estonian sample and 61 percent of the non-Estonian. Some 10 percent difference is substantial but not so dramatic as one might judge from the publications in the central press. Finally, what is the position of the Estonian population in assessing interethnic relations in the republic? Around 50 percent of those questioned considered these relations tense and around 1/4 "not very tense" while 15 percent felt they were "normal." Around 50 percent of the Estonians polled felt "some concession had to be made" in working out the concept of the republic's socioeconomic future while 28 percent proposed "decisive insistence on our own."

These data point to real opportunities for normalizing the situation and achieving positive collaboration among all strata of the Estonian population in developing the democratic process and the republic economy as well as in developing perestroika. This is under the condition that irremediable mistakes will not be made either by the republic leadership for the leaders of the sociopolitical movements of the People's Front and Interfront nor by the Union government. Precisely for this reason we need systematic, up-to-date data on social attitudes and positions of different groups of the population and these data should be reliable, representative and capable of serving as the basis of a scientifically sound expert evaluation. Incidentally, Estonian sociologists are taking a most active part in effectively analyzing the rapidly changing situation in the opinions and attitudes of the different groups in the republic population.

The situation with the development of Soviet sociology is far from simple. As a minimum we are still a good 15 years behind. We have even lost what was already done: we have scattered the skilled personnel, we have reduced both the theoretical and procedural level of the research and have been excessively concerned with the extensive increase in sociological services and the setting up of far-from-always professional centers of sociological research.

The Academy Sociology Institute must undergo a profound perestroika which has already commenced. This is primarily in the reorienting of the main areas of work in the development of theory, analysis and forecasting of social processes in the key areas of perestroika. It is essential to set up a system of higher sociological education. The decree adopted on 30 March by the Collegium of Gosobrazovaniye [State Committee for Public Education] to develop sociological education provides a certain basis for progress. But it is still a halfway measure. There still remains the unresolved problem of the training and retraining of teacher personnel, particularly in the area of general sociology. We must not exclude that the chairs of the theory of scientific communism will assume this function with a quick reorientation as sociology chairs or at least they will claim a leading position in theoretical sociology. With such a set-up, we will not advance far if we consider that precisely here dogmatism is most tangibly felt.

There must also be capital investments into the development of sociological education. Material and financial problems prevent us from setting up a nationwide network of interviewers, to equip the sociological centers with modern facilities and publish in mass editions the sociological classics and textbooks.

Possibly we must establish a public fund in favor of sociology. Perestroika requires the development of sociology to no less degree than financing the Memorial Movement or protecting the monuments of nationality cultures. Sociology is a science also essential for a competent analysis of our present and even more for intelligent planning of state actions in the future.

#### **Kirghiz KGB Seeks To Expand Glasnost**

18001154a *Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 18 May 89 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "At the Kirghiz SSR KGB: More Glasnost, Closer to the Masses"]

[Text] Fostering glasnost in KGB [Committee for State Security] agencies' activity and enhancing their public relations, improving state security workers' practices of cooperation with the mass information media, combining military discipline with the institution of democratic methods in the subunits' work, and KGB agents' more active participation in the republic's political and social life—such was the range of matters considered on 17 May 1989 at a meeting of the Kirghiz SSR KGB collegium, presided over by Committee Chairman D.A. Asankulov.

It was noted that some experience in working to enhance relations with workers, which must be developed in new forms suiting the spirit of the times, has been acquired in the state security agencies. It was stressed that success in the job of ensuring state security can only be achieved with the masses' widespread support. It was considered advisable to use overt methods more extensively in the

fight against efforts of outside forces, and some hostile elements within the country, aimed at undermining socialism's foundations, inflaming interethnic animosity, and instigating radical demonstrations. Measures were discussed for state security workers' strict observance of socialist law, and their invariable safeguarding of Soviet citizens' constitutional rights.

Particular attention was directed to the need for correcting the population's existing lack of enlightenment about KGB agencies' missions, their types of activity, their presumed violations of socialist law in the past, and the progress of work to rehabilitate unjustifiably purged individuals; and to other matters. It was noted that the Kirghiz Committee for State Security, jointly with the republic's Procuracy and Supreme Court, is doing the necessary work to reexamine the investigative files of the 1930's and 1940's. A group of veteran state security workers has been called in for this work.

Along with a praiseworthy effort, the collegium noted, there are deficiencies and unexploited potentials in the republic KGB agencies' work to enhance public relations and foster glasnost.

In a resolution adopted by the collegium, provision is made to carry out a set of practical measures to foster glasnost in the state security agencies' activity. These measures must be implemented in strict accordance with the 19th All-Union Party Conference resolution "On Glasnost" and 27th CPSU Congress requirements. It is recommended that the chiefs of KGB subunits make more extensive use of meetings, thematic discussions, and "roundtables" in labor collectives, creative unions, and scientific institutions, and among students and working youths.

Steps are specified for further improving the work with citizens' letters and statements that touch upon matters of providing for state security and enforcing law and order.

G.N. Kiselev, second secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the meeting.

M.Sh. Sherimkulov, secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the collegium's work.

#### **Kirghiz MVD Cites 'Humanization' of Labor Camps**

18001154b Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 20 May 89 p 4

[KIRTAG report from the Kirghiz SSP MVD Political Department Press Group: "Enhance the Regimen, Care For the People"]

[Text] The Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] collegium discussed the progress in perestroyka of the system and activity organization of corrective labor institutions. It

was noted that perestroyka, democratization, and glasnost have manifested themselves in a favorable way in the everyday activity of these institutions, tightly sealed off from the outside world until recent times. As a result of the last amnesty, seven special commands for the probationally sentenced and probationally released, and an exile camp, have been disestablished, and two corrective labor camps have been reconfigured for treating drug addicts and tuberculosis patients sentenced for various crimes. Enhancement of the convict maintenance regimen and, at the same time, the regimen's humanization have been provided for. More attention has begun to be devoted to social and everyday living matters. In the treatment and labor preventive measures institution for drunks and alcoholics [LTP], correspondence censorship has been discontinued, and meals have been improved. Four camps have been changed over to the new labor payment terms. Today, 79 brigades distribute the wage fund according to a labor participation factor, and 11 work under brigade contract.

**However, some of the convicts have perceived the humanization as relaxation of the regimen, as permissiveness, and as an opportunity to disturb established internal order with impunity, disrupt camp life, and spread the habits of "legitimate thieves." Narcotics and vodka are getting into the camps.**

The MVD collegium directed the attention of the Administration of Correctional Affairs [UID] chiefs and political organization to the need to correct the deficiencies in educational work with the convicts more quickly, eliminate instances of convicts' human-dignity abasement, and, at the same time, enhance the convicts' maintenance regimen and the camps' production bases and educator staffs in every possible way. A plan for additional measures along these important lines of corrective labor institution activity was approved.

#### **Common Government Program Urged to Treat Drug Addiction**

18300721 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jun 89 p 6

[Article by T. Khudyakova: "Drug Addiction in the Eyes of Scientists"]

[Text] At the initiative of the UN June 26 was designated for the second time as World Day for the Struggle Against Drug Addicts. How are we struggling against drug addiction? Replies to that question were given by scientists during a visit to our editorial offices.

At the beginning of this year approximately 60,000 drug addicts and about 8,500 toxic drug abusers were registered at our drug treatment institutions. We are talking about patients who have been officially diagnosed as such. In addition, there are more than 130,000 persons,

so-called "users", who are under prophylactic observation, i.e., persons who have been observed to use narcotics but have not yet demonstrated clinical symptoms of addiction.

Since 1985 fifteen to twenty thousand new addicts have been identified each year. Among those persons toxic drug abusers constitute the most rapidly expanding category. Medical personnel attribute this to excessive efforts in the anti-alcohol campaign. The sharp curtailment in the production of sale of alcoholic beverages has resulted in a wider use of narcotic substances, mainly household chemicals.

One additional dangerous symptom has been noted: Drug addiction and toxic drug abuse is "getting younger" at a catastrophic rate. This is indicated by studies that have been carried out at number of Moscow schools among pupils in the fourth to tenth grades. Whereas ten-year and twelve-year old youngsters still have no personal experience in the use of narcotics, as much as ten percent of the fourteen and fifteen-year old youngsters do, and among the senior students that figure is twenty percent.

Drug addiction has also been rapidly expanding geographically. Whereas previously, Central Asia (especially Turkmeniya), the Far East, and the southern Ukraine had been considered the traditional problem areas, today those areas include regions of central zone of Russia and Siberia.

Professor N. Ivanets, Director of the All-Union Center for Biomedical Problems of Narcology, said that "at first glance, the cited figures do not seem so alarming. Particularly, if one compares the scope of the problem to the USA, for example, where there are approximately 20 million drug addicts. But it would be extremely dangerous for the public to be mollified by this kind of 'lagging behind'." The very process of identifying addicts is a very complicated one since this involves tremendous sums of income that drug dealers are not at all willing to give up. And one cannot ignore the truly astronomic reserves of wild growing hemp and poppy. It is those reserves that are primitively processed that make up over eighty percent of the narcotics being used. Our efforts are also seriously hampered by our lack of world class instrumentation that is capable of detecting the presence of narcotics in the human body.

But all of that is largely the technical aspect of the problem. And if we say that drug addiction is a social phenomenon, that is nothing we can be silent about. The efforts to represent this vice as a purely medical problem has and is still causing great harm to the matter at hand. This kind of approach not only distorts the true picture but clearly misplaces emphasis and priorities.

The struggle against drug addiction is structured throughout the world in approximately the following manner: stop the flow of narcotics from abroad, improve

the effectiveness of prohibitive measures, intensify restrictive and restraining measures within the country, improve preventive measures as well as the treatment and rehabilitation processes for addicts.

In our country, however, everything is turned upside down. The responsibility for making progress in the area of drug addiction and toxic drug abuse is largely delegated to physicians. They, it is claimed, have a poor record of treatment. Out of 100 patients who undergo a course of treatment, 75 to 80 percent return to their pernicious habit. The question is why?

"The narcotic addicts fight for each of their own, which is something one cannot say about our society as a whole," said Chief Specialist and Narcologist-Psychiatrist for Specialized Medical Services of the USSR Ministry of Health A. Glazov. "One nearly always comes across a situation where enterprises fire persons who happen to be on the drug treatment registry. Such persons essentially become outcasts. By the same token we force them to return to their old ways. In the West, which we have become accustomed to reproaching for their indifference to humans, the approach to this situation is quite different. Most companies even pay for the treatment of their own employees who are addicts and fire such persons only as a last resort. They have now acquired considerable experience in organizing communities of former addicts which are given active assistance by local authorities. So far we have nothing like that, if one doesn't count the few alcoholic anonymous groups in Moscow and Kiev.

From the legal point of view the prohibitive measures adopted in our country are rather severe. Persons guilty of distributing narcotics are subject to criminal accountability. Two years ago a law was passed which made the non-medical use of narcotics an administrative offense and the repetition of such an act within one year a criminal offense. At the same time the law stipulated that if such persons presented themselves for medical assistance they would be released from criminal accountability. Those measures had a definite positive effect in the struggle against drug addiction.

As regards to the differences between drug addiction and toxic drug abuse, such differences are more of a legal rather than medical character. That is because only those substances entered into the official lists are classified as narcotics so that their use, illegal manufacture or storage are criminally punishable. Toxic drug abuse is caused by substances that are not included in this list although they inflict much more harm to the human body since they often result in severe brain infections.

Prevention is one other problem that is no less, and even perhaps more important. This is a problem that requires specialized scientific efforts. Such efforts are being

undertaken by specialists at the Department for Socio-Psychological Studies of Drug Addiction that has been recently organized at the Center for Narcology. The Department is directed by doctor of psychological sciences V. Guldán who said:

"Previously no one in our country had been engaged in this aspect of the problem even though it is one of the most important ones in this area. And that is because the problem's task is to answer two fundamental questions: Who becomes a drug addict and why? It is essential that we track down the underlying motives and identify the channels through which information can be disseminated about the narcotics themselves and their effects. How should this anti-narcotic propaganda be undertaken? No one as yet has a definitive answer to that question, neither here nor in the West. So far we know for sure that the principal source of information that is conducive to the start of narcotics use includes feature films and documentaries, press publications, and conversations with adults and contemporaries. This has been confirmed by research. For example, narcotics users among youngsters inevitably appear following educational and explanatory discussions about the harm of drug addiction even when such discussions take place in a "clean" atmosphere. Drug addiction can be compared to an infectious disease with respect to rate of dissemination. Wherever there is just one addict, there will inevitably be followers. Lengthy questioning of patients with established diagnoses of addiction have shown that curiosity and imitation are the causes of narcotics abuse in 76 percent of the cases.

The struggle against drug addiction is a complex problem and should be approached with this in mind. And the sooner we do this the better will be the results. Today it has become clear, at least for specialists, that a special state program is essential. And this inevitably raises the problem of new organizational structures on an interdepartmental foundation with solid financing. Such financing in our country is worse than modest. In the USA, for example, 400 million dollars are allocated annually for treatment programs alone.

#### **Health Camp Plans for Chernobyl, Chernovtsy Children**

18001219 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
14 May 89 p 2

[Interview with M.A. Orlik, deputy chairman of the UkSSR Council of Ministers, by a RATAU correspondent: "So That Their Summer Holiday Will Be Good"]

[Text] The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers and the Ukrainian Council of Trade Unions adopted a resolution "On Several Questions of Promoting the Health of Schoolchildren and Mothers With Children of Preschool Age in 1989."

[Orlik] In accordance with this resolution, aid will given to promote the health this year of schoolchildren and mothers with children of preschool age who reside in localities adjacent to the zone of the Chernobyl AES [nuclear power plant], or who were exposed to radioactive contamination, of the Poleskiy and Ivankovskiy rayons of the Kiev Oblast; of the Narodichskiy, Ovruchskiy, and Luginskiy rayons and individual villages of the Korostenskiy Rayon of Zhitomir Oblast; as well as of several populated areas of the Dubrovitskiy, Zarechnenskiy, and Rokitnovskiy rayons of the Rovno Oblast.

Healthy activities will be provided for schoolchildren at the end of the school year in Young Pioneer camps and health camps located in other oblasts of the republic. A sanatorium regimen will be organized. The children will be able to vacation for one or two shifts, depending on the wishes of the parents. Those schoolchildren registered with a health clinic will receive treatment at children's sanatoriums of the public health system and at trade union youth sanatoriums.

As for mothers with children of preschool age from these rayons, they will be able to vacation for 18-24 days during the holiday period at trade union health centers and the republic's "Ukrkolkhozzdravnitsa" association health centers. The UkSSR Ministry of Health has been commissioned to assist these institutions in the organization of the appropriate medical care.

In all, about 52,000 vouchers will be allotted to promote the health of schoolchildren and mothers with preschoolers living in the populated areas I mentioned.

[Correspondent] Who will pay for the vouchers and travel expenses?

[Orlik] The vouchers for Young Pioneer and health camps will be given out free of charge. Students will be sent on vacation in an organized manner with educators from the teaching staffs of the schools. The trade union councils will pay the travel costs.

Vouchers for sanatoriums and other health institutions for mothers with children of preschool age will be distributed by trade union organizations in a fixed order. Expenses will be covered by the state insurance budget and the centralized fund of social insurance of collective farmers. The vacationers will pay for travel to and from the health centers themselves.

[Correspondent] The resolution also provides several other categories of the republic's population with vacation assistance...

[Orlik] That is correct. In particular, this applies to workers and members of their families who were evacuated from the zone of the Chernobyl AES and reside in the territory of the republic. Vouchers for Young Pioneer



and health camps, sanatorium institutions, and other health centers will be allotted to them on an top-priority basis as the resources become available.

In addition, a supplemental system of Young Pioneer and health camps with a sanatorium regimen is being created in Chernovtsy Oblast to promote the health of schoolchildren from the city of Chernovtsy this summer. The Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee will allot them 1900 vouchers in the current year for the republic's Young Pioneer camp "Molodaya Gvardiya" in Odessa, and schoolchildren who are registered with health clinics on grounds of chronic illness will be treated by the USSR Ministry of Health at children's sanatoriums under its own jurisdiction.

The Ukrainian Council of Trade Unions will allot, in addition to the plan, an appropriate number of 24-day vouchers to promote the health of children from the city of Chernovtsy who have chemical diseases, accompanied by one of their parents. For those parents accompanying their children, provisions have been made to maintain their average monthly earnings and an uninterrupted work record during the period of their stay at the sanatorium and resort institutions.

It has been recommended that the Chernovtsy oblispolkom and oblsoprof [oblast council of trade unions] convert the children's preschool institutions in the oblast's center over to a sanatorium regimen during the summer period.

[Correspondent] These May days are especially crucial for those who must ensure the efficient operation of the Young Pioneer and health camps, sanatoriums, and other health centers over the course of the entire season.

[Orlik] Undoubtedly. For that reason the resolution of the UkSSR Council of Ministers commits the oblispolkoms and oblsoprofs together with economic organizations to carry out timely and skillful training of all facilities in the admittance and care of schoolchildren and mothers with children of preschool age. With the support of the UkSSR Ministry of Trade, the Ukrainian Council of Cooperatives, and the republic's State Agroindustrial Committee and Ministry of Health, they must ensure the top-priority supply of foodstuffs of the necessary varieties, establish strict control over the maintenance of a proper sanitation and hygiene regimen, and aid in the efficient solution of problems arising during operations. The UkSSR Ministry of Automotive Transport, the railroads administration, the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Kiev, Zhitomir, and Rovno oblispolkoms must ensure the organized transport of schoolchildren and mothers with children of preschool age to and from the vacation places.

[Correspondent] How will the summer holidays be organized for children residing in the other rayons of Kiev, Zhitomir, and Rovno oblasts?

[Orlik] Healthy activities will be provided for children and youths in these rayons in the usual manner, like last year. An additional inspection of the Young Pioneer camps and the adjacent territories and reservoirs was conducted and did not reveal anything at all to prevent their operation. As a result, the appropriate oblispolkoms, oblsoprofs, enterprises, and organizations in charge of health institutions have until 20 May to complete their preparations for the season.

Instructions have been given to develop this summer a supplemental system of city and school Young Pioneer camps, other health facilities, and labor associations of senior pupils through a wide use of the material resources of schools and other educational institutions, and to provide for the organization of productive activities for children at the place of residence.

All of this pertains to the organization of vacations for the present year. Concerning more long-term prospects, the drafts of economic and social development plans for 1990 and for the 30th 5-Year Plan provide for the planning and construction of several health centers and Young Pioneer and health camps in the republic's resort districts in order to improve the health-institution services for the population of those rayons adjoining the zone of the Chernobyl AES. In particular, there are plans to contribute to this a portion of the funds received as a result of the republic's All-Union Communist Subbotnik [day of voluntary unpaid labor], which was dedicated to the 119th anniversary of the birthday of V.I. Lenin.

#### **Democratic Union Rally Termed 'Undemocratic'**

18001261 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 May 89 p 3

[Article by M. Alexandrov and M. Saidov: "Monologue Instead of Discussion"]

[Text] We have reported already that Mossovet had allocated a site where Moscow residents and the capital's guests can meet forum participants during the proceedings of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR to discuss its workings. What did it look like on Saturday and Sunday?

Until recently a person with a transistor radio listening to an official report would look bizarre in Moscow streets. But the situation has changed drastically these days. The Luzhniki grounds swarm with people carrying transistor radios. Hundreds of people are not just listening to the broadcasts from the Kremlin, but are discussing the Congress proceedings in a lively manner. A sharp debate follows sometimes, embracing different views and stands. But the situation changes completely when the rally begins. Emotional and highly politicized at the beginning, all of a sudden the debate ceases to be democratic, turning into a one-way street. This happened both on Saturday and Sunday. One speaker followed another, but there was not even a whiff of an argument or a debate. The speeches were keynoted with

an attempt to create an entirely negative opinion among thousands of people, who got together to discuss the issues of concern, regarding the Congress decisions, the course of the debates and the speeches of those who rankled the representatives of the Moscow and Russian People's Fronts, and the "Democratic Union".

"Those not with us, are against us." This motto, unacceptable for a really democratic society, the implementation of which caused the death of thousands of victims of repressions, is being raised by the... advocates of democracy (or at least by those who pay lip service to it). And now they urge reprisals against the "conservative" deputies not to their liking and even put a schoolgirl with a sadistic poster on the rostrum. Some democrats.

As representatives of numerous fronts take floor one after another, the impression is growing stronger and stronger that they goad the audience into some sort of a military action. To cap it, these spokesmen occupy high positions in their "informal" (!) organizations - those of chairpersons or department heads. Aren't they trying to establish their own apparatus to counterbalance "the bureaucratic and administrative" system they blast themselves? Isn't the Democratic Union raising funds to support them by selling its leaflets to rally participants? Don't you agree that it is sacrilegious to sell leaflets for money as far as the participants are concerned?

The passions are running high in the meantime. And the rally moderator contributes his no small bit to fan them. He orchestrates the chanting of slogans, tries to provoke and barks in a military manner one or another starting with "Down!" or "Shame!" or jaws other demands and calls that often contradict each other or are just plain incoherent. If a Congress deputy takes a stand different from the one he was expected to, he is denounced, urged to be recalled, dismissed and so on. If the majority does not support one candidate or another, objects to a wording or amendment, a deputy is branded a Stalinite or Brezhnevite. They fail to grasp how absurd it is to lump together two disreputable but completely opposite things. And all this amidst much jeering.

About 90 minutes later, most of the people get bored with this kind of a debate, when the ball is in one court only. And this is natural. If you criticize "filibustering," you should engage in a meaningful debate. But the rally was unfortunately void of it. The speeches are running like a mill, taking up even the issues long resolved. "We demand a Congress commission!..." they demanded, while it has been already set up and is deliberating. "We demand that the agenda include...", but the issue is already on the agenda.

None of the speakers comes up with a semblance of practical suggestions regarding the topical issues, the main political, economic and social strategies that the Congress is to map out. They produce nothing, because these "democrats" have nothing to offer. But they come aplenty with abuses against the CPSU, socialism, the

forces of perestroika and against individual Party members, and People's Deputies of the USSR. There is no doubt that among tens of thousands of people who gathered in Luzhniki one could meet those who want to conduct a really serious, profound and well-mannered debate and a constructive dialogue. We are certain that there are quite a few of those. But it is a couple of "informal" groups who monopolized the rostrum and who give the floor only to those they like. Besides, a group of hecklers assembled around the rostrum boos anyone who tries to deviate from the extremist, often nonsensical phrases, who tries to raise everyday burning issues or express a different view.

What is happening? We have a zillion "fronts" and "factions" as well as clubs and associations. They multiply and partition the field of political pluralism into separate plots fenced off with their own brand names and organizational structures. It is up to them, let them multiply and seek the truth. But it is evident that the monopoly of truth cannot be backed up with the monopoly of rostrum.

Is it only the representatives of the People's Front and their friends who would like to speak in Luzhniki? Would Muscovites want to listen only to those who subscribe to the views of, and are liked by the Democratic Union? We are not urging "administrative measures" and wilful decisions. But the democratic process needs to be strengthened through organizational steps.

Despite the moderator's attempts and a number of canned speeches in the spirit of one-minute pluralism, the rally has not turned into a campaign against restructuring. It is likely that the majority see how fallacious such interpretation of democracy can be, when the majority has to toe the line of the minority. It is obvious that everybody will rather subscribe to a folk wisdom which says: discuss separately but act in concert. And many people realize how fruitless are unceasing attempts to revise the decisions already made and to criticize every word of the "dissidents." It is another matter that it is far from safe to express such doubts amidst "democratic" activists, since one gets abused and humiliated. We are certain this is intolerable. We do think that those unwilling to be prodded into provocative calls for strikes, disobedience and rioting should speak up. Mature people detest shrill kitchen arguments of course, but it is high time to realize for all sane elements in society that silence under the present circumstances can be interpreted as agreement with the extremist sloganeering. This attitude is particularly needed today because even some respected people who participated in the rally did not give the proper rebuff to the extremists.

We swapped opinions with some Western journalists as the rally was going on. To our surprise, their reaction to the rally was very restrained and even guarded. "We expected serious debate, but this is just a monologue,"

one of them said. "Quite a few empty words too. Don't you think that somebody is trying to settle scores?"

One cannot give an unequivocal answer. What is obvious is that the old adage "The truth is borne in argument" has been ignored. By denying your opponent this chance,

one makes the truth even more elusive. We tried to sound out one of the rally participants, but, far from answering the question, he refused to identify himself, invoking some strict rules and referred us to the leaders of various fronts. But the leaders were mounting the rostrum at that moment...

### Policy on Nationalities Criticized

18001200 Vilnius KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5 May 89 p 7-13

[Article by Yuožas Paletskis, candidate of historical sciences, docent, and adviser at the House of Political Education of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee: "From a Local Rather Than a Central Viewpoint: In Preparation for the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on Interethnic Relations"]

[Text] The concern of people about interethnic relations and their further development is understandable. Glasnost and democratization have exposed gross violations of the party's nationalities policy. The bitter historical truth (or, at least, a part of it) has been told about the past of the Soviet peoples, which has changed people's thinking and stirred a desire to understand how this could have been possible under conditions of socialism. The people, for their part, are becoming increasingly convinced that the success of the party's new course will depend essentially on whether all peoples and nations, nationalities, and ethnic groups will be included as the ideas of perestroika materialize.

A host of new facts made public since 1985, together with new assessments of them, have now convinced a majority of people in the Soviet Union that distortions occurred in the relations between nationalities as in the whole of life. True, there are those who continue to believe, as before, in the triumph of the nationalities policy and in the unprecedented prosperity of the Soviet peoples.

Meanwhile, a nationalities policy has been carried out in the Soviet Union that has little in common with Lenin's program of national relations and the ideas of scientific communism. Actually, it was worked out by Stalin, and it was put into effect with the roughest sort of tactics by an apparatus devoted to him. The postulates of this policy remained in effect throughout the years of stagnation. Of course, it is not possible to deny entirely the progress of the Soviet peoples. This policy, however, is a far cry from the one proposed by the Leninist model of socialism.

When we speak of nationalities policy during the entire Soviet period, we cannot separate it from the overall process of building socialism in the Soviet Union. A crude interpretation of class interests and the priority they were given over humanitarian values and the interests of nationalities, along with the flouting of principles of humanism and democracy, served as the underlying cause of the distortions that took place in national relations and the bitter losses suffered by Soviet minorities. During the period of Stalinism and subsequent stagnation the theory and practice of building socialism in the first place distorted the fundamental tenets of the Soviet Federation as worked out and upheld by V. I. Lenin. In our day the Soviet Union is neither a union of free peoples nor of sovereign republics; for the ideas of

federalism following the death of Lenin were gradually forgotten as Stalin's "autonomization" project was imposed on the Soviet republics. By means of coercion, treachery, and various kinds of manipulation, the Stalinist bureaucracy succeeded within a short time in creating a Soviet unitary state corresponding in size to Tsarist Russia (with the exception of Poland and Finland) which was only a "federation" and "socialism" in terms of words. Naturally, as a result of carrying out the program of "autonomization," the republics lost the rights that they had possessed upon amalgamation in the Soviet Union.

V. I. Lenin believed: "We should promise in advance to maintain a union of soviet socialist republics only with respect to diplomatic and military affairs, and in all other respects restore full independence to the separate people's commissariats" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 45, pp 361-362). Today, however, the situation is entirely reversed. Real power is concentrated in the hands of 80 Union ministries and state committees. Administrative control in the Soviet Union is, in fact, much more centralized than in the major countries of the West, although as a rule only one nationality predominates in them.

We can now see clearly the consequences of this unprecedented centralization. Industrial giants were built in the republics, the raw materials for which were transported over thousands of kilometers. Moreover, citizens of other republics were dispatched to the Union building sites. This practice was unwise and unprofitable not simply in terms of economics. It had a negative impact on the social and demographic conditions of the republics, and an ecological crisis developed in many areas. With the rapid increase in the population that resulted, it became increasingly difficult to provide local residents with food and housing, and to solve problems of transport, domestic services, and commerce. In the republics of Central Asia and in certain rayons of the Caucasus there were also problems of unemployment. As the migration of peoples intensified in recent decades, in Estonia, Latvia, Kirghizia, Moldavia, and elsewhere, those who gave their name to these republics began to turn into national minorities. As a result the national language began to be crowded out of various areas of public life. It became increasingly difficult for the national culture to grow.

The spirit of "autonomization" with management centralized is clearly manifested in the political life of the country. Local organs of Soviet power cannot in fact express the will of the citizens of the Union republics and uphold their interests since they are strictly committed to carrying out general directives for the country as a whole issued by the central organs, which do not take into account the traditions or distinguishing features of each republic. Meanwhile, in the central organs of what is proclaimed to be a federation there is no one to stand up for the interests of the republic since it is virtually unrepresented. In his day V. I. Lenin stipulated that



representatives of all the republics should take turns in working in the highest organs of Union management. Today, however, we can see that they are predominantly made up of people of Russian nationality; or else of representatives of other nationalities who have lived for a long time in Moscow, and who cannot and often have no wish to understand or take into consideration the aspirations of their republic and its peoples or their national self-awareness. This tradition of conditions being shaped by the central organs is a heritage of Stalinism and the era of stagnation. An essential feature of it is a distrust of cadres trained in the republics and of any identification in real life of "Russia" with the "Union."

The present status of the Union republics attests to the fact that nothing is left of Leninist Soviet federation but an idea that remains unrealized. Despite all the declarations of the USSR Constitution, the republics cannot be considered states, having retained only the accoutrements of statehood (a governing body, constitution, national anthem, flag, etc.). Statehood of this kind differs essentially in no way from that of the "autonomous" republics or the rights of other national territorial groups or oblasts.

Along with eliminating the sovereignty of the Union republics, the statehood of various national groups was destroyed. During the war years the Crimean Tatars and the Volga Germans were deprived of statehood (on the basis of trumped-up charges). Artificial national and territorial units were also formed for other reasons, guided by subjectivism and often the principle of "divide and conquer." In the 1930's, for example, the Jewish Autonomous Oblast was formed in the Far East, although most Jews lived in the European part of the Soviet Union. The policy also resulted in the formation of an autonomous oblast in Nagorno-Karabakh without regard for the interests of either the peoples of Armenia or Azerbaijan.

During the Stalinist period the interests of the small ethnic groups and minorities were particularly rudely trampled on. Not only the Crimean Tatars and Volga Germans were driven from their homelands but also certain peoples from the Caucasus. Both the scale and the consequences of a planned and premeditated policy of genocide far exceeded the tsarist policy of oppressing peoples, and it had a tragic effect on the Lithuanian people and other people in the Baltic region. The suspiciousness, distrust, exile, and destruction of peoples had such a devastating effect on many groups that even the passage of decades has not managed to heal their wounds.

Many of the peoples of our country have not been able to achieve their full growth. Worst of all, even later, during the period of stagnation no one actually cared about their revival. Despite all the promises and expressions of sympathy from various high places, the damage that had been done to these peoples was not compensated for and

justice was not restored. Moreover, owing to the increased assimilation that occurred for various reasons in later years, many ethnic minorities virtually lost their sense of national identity. Indeed, an enormous decline in the cultural and spiritual life of the peoples of the Soviet Union was brought about by Stalinism and the years of party leadership under the domination of Krushchev and Brezhnev. The bureaucratic and autocratic system ruthlessly suppressed customs and traditions created and cherished for centuries. Monuments of history and culture were destroyed. As the administrators and ideologists of the period realized: Clip the wings of creative experience gained from generations past, and national self-awareness weakens; historical memory is erased. In this way the national culture of many peoples was undermined and the spirit of the people diminished. Especially tragic (as we are painfully aware today) were the consequences of the distrust, dismemberment, and destruction of the intelligentsia within the nationalities during the period of the cult of personality. As a result certain peoples were utterly deprived of the opportunity to develop their own cultures.

Today it is painful to hear the rationale of the pre-war period calling Soviet culture "national in form, socialist in content." In view of the banishment from culture of one's native language, memory of history, national traditions, and the experience of preceding generations, the assertion of a national basis of culture is absurd. As the philosopher B. Kuzmitskas maintains, "It is content, not form, that reveals the basis of national culture." (B. Kuzmitskas: "The National Element of Culture," KULTUROSO BARAY, No 10, 1988, p 2) The national form of culture has become a convenient cover for administrators oblivious of national distinctiveness.

For many years we have been in the habit of saying that after the Great October Revolution more than 50 peoples of the Soviet Union established their own written language, and that all national languages were used in the fields of education, science, and art as well as in state institutions. A deliberate silence, however, has been maintained about the fact that with the replacement of the recently established written language by the Cyrillic alphabet (in Moldavia, certain republics of Central Asia, and among peoples in the North), the first step has been taken in a policy of making the Russian language compulsory—a policy that has been pursued with particular vigor in recent decades.

The results of this policy carried out by local as well as central party and soviet bodies are now discernable. Educational institutions of all kinds, theaters, and cultural institutions in which the medium of instruction or discourse is the native language have diminished in number or disappeared altogether. (In the last 15 years alone the number of languages studied by children in schools has dwindled from 50 to 39.) The publication of books and magazines as well as the number of radio and television broadcasts in native languages has similarly gone down. In several republics and national minority

areas, under the pretext of internationalism, the Russian language has been established as the sole means of public discourse. It is no wonder therefore that not only many small ethnic groups but young people of Kazakh, Kirghiz, Moldavian, Belorussian, Ukrainian, Bashkir, Chuvash, Tatar and Yakut extraction have virtually no understanding of their mother tongue. That the intelligentsia among these ethnic groups is forgetting its own mother tongue is a particularly bitter fact.

There are at present few Russians or persons of other nationalities residing in republics other than their own who know how to speak the language of the people—that is, their hosts. It is not a mistake to say that under such conditions Russian assumes the status of a state language. Instead of steadily working to improve relations between nationalities, and striving for trust and unity among the Soviet peoples, campaigns in the "battle with nationalism" and "the battle with cosmopolitanism" have been waged for decades. In educational work a hortatory, sloganeering conception of internationalism, created in conference rooms, continues to predominate. It has done severe damage to ethnic identity as to the noble ideals of the friendship of peoples. The idea that there cannot be respect for other peoples—there cannot be mutual trust—without a respect for the values of each nationality and culture has for some reason been consigned to oblivion.

The nationalist sentiments of people have been wounded by extolling the qualities of the Russian people—their language, culture, and role in history—and the fact has seemingly been forgotten that other peoples, too, might take pride in their own culture. Unfortunately, even party and Soviet officials, and scientists of Russian extraction, have often behaved in this manner. Not only did it differ from the norms of polite behavior, but it was at variance with Lenin's contention that people were to be educated in terms of their own nationality in a spirit of internationalism, and that it was the communists within these national groups who were primarily responsible for dealing with nationalist sentiments.

With the indoctrination of internationalism of this kind in public life, more and more people appeared who were indifferent to national values and their own historical background. On the other hand, the same process had the effect of stirring up the dissatisfactions and nationalist sentiments of outsiders. It was only natural therefore that such "international education" often simply exacerbated problems of relations between nationalities.

The blame for this situation and for the confused theories about relations between nationalities is attributable to the academicians, some of whom to this very day cling to positions they took during the periods of Stalinism and subsequent stagnation. Within the system of arbitrary bureaucracy the social sciences were the handmaidens of the administrative apparatus, which was forced to affirm and translate into action precepts of one sort or

another about nationalist sentiments previously arrived at in private conferences. Those who did not care to flow with the current had labels of "nationalist" and "anti-Soviet" pinned on them.

In my opinion it was quite impossible at that time to devise a theory of nationality policy responsive to the needs and interests of all peoples in the country inasmuch as theorizing was exclusively the prerogative of the Moscow centers of learning. Union republic scholars were accorded the right to approve ideas engendered in Moscow. It is noteworthy that particular paeans of praise for party nationality policy emanated from Central Asia and the autonomous republics ("laboratories of the friendship of peoples"), as well as from the Far East and other national minority areas. In short, the more oppressed the peoples, and the greater the degree of distortion of nationality policy, the louder the shouts of praise for the "fruition and triumph of Leninist nationality policy."

It would be incorrect to draw a line in the field of national relations between the period of Stalin and that of stagnation. Much that was initiated by Stalin in the 1920's was, in fact, brought to completion by other means and methods in the 1970's. Beneath the facade of "the friendship of the Soviet peoples" and their apparent blossoming lurked pressing and frequently painful problems of nationality relations, which were deliberately suppressed. It is therefore not surprising that today they are no less acute than political, economic, or social problems. After years of suppression, in certain republics and regions they have reemerged in the form of national conflicts and discord. This is not simply a consequence of glasnost and democracy but an outbreak of the unrealized nationalist aspirations and chronic ills of the Socialist peoples. At the same time, needless to say, there are certain individuals and groups whose extremist tendencies are directed at exacerbating nationalist problems in order to further their own political ambitions. When all is said and done, however, it is less profitable in such situations for local party and Soviet organs to try to resolve nationalist conflicts and contradictions by force or administrative fiat since this leads to tension and social divisiveness.

Nationalist problems acquiring characteristics of conflict necessitate the working out of a new interpretation of party nationality policy and the formation of an efficiently functioning state mechanism. This is the responsibility of the forthcoming plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on interethnic relations. Preparations for this meeting are now in process behind doors that are open and with the active participation of scientists, the creative intelligentsia, and party and public organizations, as well as social movements, in the Union republics. It is a matter of record that the Lithuanian CP Central Committee has made proposals of its own with regard to improving interethnic relations to the CPSU Central Committee (see SOVETSKAYA LITVA, 19 January 1989).

The following steps should be taken in establishing a new concept of nationality policy:

- Proceed on the basis of Lenin's theoretical heritage with particular reference to works written in the post-October period, inasmuch as the positions taken in works written in the tsarist period (about statehood, national languages, international education, among other topics) tend to be applied automatically to modern life without consideration for the presence of entirely new historical circumstances.
- Utilize everything of a positive nature that pertained to the resolution of national issues in the country during the early 1920's.
- Restore in its entirety the Leninist Soviet federation—specifically, granting all union republics political, economic, and cultural sovereignty; extend significantly the rights of autonomous and other national territorial entities; and restore to statehood those ethnic groups that were deprived of it under Stalin.
- Guarantee the right of national groups within the union republics to develop their own culture and education in the native language since only in this way can they preserve their distinct character.
- Create more favorable conditions for each ethnic group to develop its own national traditions, language, and culture on the basis of universal values; and revive the forgotten traditions of preceding generations.
- Reorganize the system of international education, paying particular attention to the development of national self-awareness, a knowledge of the history and culture of one's own people and of other ethnic groups, and to strengthening mutual respect between peoples of different nationalities residing in the republics. Acknowledge publicly and condemn the indignities imposed upon peoples under Stalinism as well as under tsarism, refraining in future from the categories of "older" and "younger" brother; and condemn as well the policy of assimilation as contradictory to the humanitarian ideals of socialism, equality, and the friendship of peoples.
- Take advantage of the experience gained by other countries, capitalist as well as socialist, in dealing with interethnic problems.

These are only basic factors. Since the peoples of the country of the Soviets are extremely diverse, the ways and means of approaching national problems must be worked out and given concrete solutions within the Union republics with due regard for local customs and traditions.

In precisely this manner—in the spirit of perestroika and the resolutions of the 19th CPSU Conference—efforts are currently being made to resolve issues of

nationality in Lithuania and the other Baltic republics. After rejecting the sloganeering type of internationalism, empty theorizing, prolonged discussion and delay, we have managed to accomplish a good deal on the way to achieving a national revival of the Lithuanian people that could only have been dreamed of earlier. Certain historical and culture monuments that are dear to us have been restored; emblems of statehood, previously banned, have been reinstated, as well as the historical names of streets and of settled areas. A powerful impulse was given to the revival of Lithuania with the establishment of 16 February as a national holiday in the republic, publicly affirming the cultural heritage of past generations and the history of our peoples.

The leadership of Lithuania appears to have led the country in public condemnation of Stalinism for its inhuman and criminal conduct and in compensating people as far as possible for the moral and material damage people suffered as a result of it. Guided by tolerance and a respect for the values of other peoples living in the republic, we have already succeeded in establishing schools for nationalities. Lithuanian national culture has recently been developing increasingly on the basis of national traditions, while integrating the art of Lithuanians living in other countries. This year concern has been expressed about how to help Lithuanians living in neighboring republics—how to found schools with instruction in the native language, and so forth. The fact that Lithuanian has now become the state language is of great importance for the people's future.

All of this is only a beginning on the difficult path to achieving the sovereignty of Soviet Lithuania. It expresses the hopes of many peoples living in the republic, and, as already noted, it constitutes the main objective of both the republic government and the Lithuanian CP Central Committee. Overcoming difficulties along this path with its many turns, however, requires a degree of harmony and unity of action of all social forces, of all nationalities, and of "Sayudisa" and other social movements. Meanwhile, some elements are behaving in a contrary manner, and they seem to be doing so deliberately. Marching under the banner of an independent Lithuania, and calling for secession from the Soviet Union, they are, in fact, doing injury to the positive processes occurring in the republic and to the democratization taking place in the country as a whole without which the sovereignty of Lithuania is impossible.

Despite the fact that a good deal has recently been done in the republic so that Russians, Jews, Belorussians, Karaims, and people of other nationalities will have improved conditions for the development of their language and culture, one cannot but notice a definite amount of tension in the relations between peoples living in the republic and at times even open hostility. Actually, this is inevitable inasmuch as Lithuanians and other peoples are now going through a radical process of restructuring in the area of interethnic relations. But there is no need to incite panic because of this.

Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that first one group and then then another is adding oil to the flames of nationalist passions. What good does it do anyone to heap all the blame for the crimes of Stalinism in Lithuania on the Russian people? Is it not obvious how deeply offensive the word "non-Russian" is to people of other nationalities, and how irresponsible the statement is that people of other nationalities can get out of Lithuania? And, of course, the malicious relish with which some speak of the "imperial, colonial policy of the USSR" does not contribute anything to the situation.

The feelings of Lithuanians could not but be offended by the hostility with which certain people of other nationalities greeted the official recognition of Lithuanian as the national language, the restoration of national emblems of state, and the national revival itself, as well as by completely unjustified claims for national administrative areas [apilinkai] within the territory of Vilnius.

Now, as economic independence in the republic appears and other important matters begin to take shape, it is fitting for everyone together to get rid of these misunderstandings. Party organizations and the mass media should work particularly hard to instill a respect for cultural distinctions and the various ways of life of people living in Lithuania, and to halt efforts to strain mutual relations and to stir up nationalism and chauvinism. These actions are called for in the resolution of the 19th plenum of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee. A particularly important role in this respect is assigned to the intelligentsia of Lithuania and to representatives of the intelligentsia of other nationalities.

If we really aspire to achieving the equality of all peoples, their trust for one another, and their cultural revival, the new theoretical guidelines and practical steps in this direction should be radical in nature. Cosmetic improvements will not help. Today therefore we should speak of the restructuring rather than mere improvement in the relations between nationalities.

Recently, voices have been raised locally as well as at the center about the achievements of nationality policy, expressing apprehension that further changes in the sphere of nationality relations might have negative consequences. Now, as before, efforts are being made to brush aside suggestions of the social scientists. Moreover, once again we see that theoretical considerations are not successfully influencing the seething problems of nationalities in practice.

It may happen that we lack the courage to work out a nationality policy that measures up to the spirit of perestroika. Sooner or later, however, we must do so in this country. For if we want to significantly extend the social base of the restructuring process by eliminating the conflicts between nationalities, we must resolve not

only the general problems of our society; we must meet the particular needs and interests of peoples in terms of language, culture, and political as well as economic life.

### **Popularity of Estonian Public Figures Assessed** 18150072

[Editorial Report] Tallinn NOORTE HAAL in Estonian 26 May 89 on page 3 carried a report of this year's second survey of popularity which took place at the beginning of May, with 835 people being questioned. Of those questioned, 63.5 percent were Estonians and 36.5 percent non-Estonians. Compared to a previous survey conducted in January, the answers of the Estonians reflected only minor changes in popularity, while among the non-Estonians some substantial changes have occurred in respect to Vladimir Yarovov (Chairman of the Presidium of the Estonian SSR United Council of Work Collectives), Yevgeniy Kogan (active in Inter-Movement) and Igor Shepelevich (member of the Presidium of the Estonian SSR United Council of Work Collectives) who are now among the most popular eleven but were in January in 24th place and sharing the 57th-58th and 50th-52nd places respectively.

Among Estonians, the following five are the most popular:

1. Marju Lauristin (People's Front; Deputy at the People's Congress)
2. Arnold Ruutel (Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet; a Deputy)
3. Tiit Made (one of the four original authors of Estonian self-management concept; a Deputy)
4. Indrek Toome (Chairman of the Council of Ministers; a Deputy)
5. Vaino Valjas (First secretary of Communist Party of Estonia; a Deputy)

Among non-Estonians, the following five are the most popular:

1. Vaino Valjas
2. Mikhail Bronshteyn (head of Political Economy Department at Tartu State University; a Deputy)
3. Arnold Ruutel
4. Indrek Toome
5. Igor Grazin (Estonian, despite his name; a lawyer; a Deputy).



**Pickers Protest Pro-LPF Bias Of Latvian TV**  
*18001134 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in*  
*Russian 11 May 89 p 3*

[Article by Yevgeniy Shum: "Let's Learn From The BBC""]

[Text] "We want restraint on republic TV!" "We want pluralism not in word but in deed!" "LORK represents no one but itself." "TV belongs to the state, not the Latvian People's Front." And so on. These are but a few of more than 20 signs carried last Saturday by picketers posted by the Moskovskiy Rayon (Riga) Council of the International Front of Working People of Soviet Latvia. For three hours, the picketers had an opportunity not only to voice their grievances and desires to employees of Latvian television but also to hold a discussion with those who came out of the television center building in Zakyusal to listen to their complaints.

I asked one of the picket's organizers, Nelli Andrianovna Borisova, to recount the reasons for the pickets and the picketers' basic demands.

[Borisova] The reason is clear, I think. We are extremely dissatisfied with the fact that republic television covers and comments on the events taking place in the republic in a one-sided fashion. In our opinion, the television is dominated by employees who support the LPF and who are using state television to one-sidedly promote the LPF's ideas, while portraying the International Front's views only in a light that suits their purposes.

If we talk about pluralism of views today, I think the IF should have regular access to television screens and an opportunity to set forth its viewpoint by itself, without the help of commentators from the people's front.

[Shum] But some signs present demands on behalf on the entire Russian-speaking population. As we know, however, not all that population supports the IF movement.

[Borisova] Yes, that's a second aspect of the matter. We want the Russian-language broadcasting staff to employ people who can take an objective view of events in Latvia, who are free of bias and immune to pressure from either side. Members of LORK [Latvian Society of Workers' Collectives] are not suitable for this mission, for fully understandable reasons. How long can the television go on insulting the Russian people, instead of working to enlighten them?

[Shum] In that case, whom would you propose for the Russian editorial staff of Latvian TV?

[Borisova] My personal view is that the job could be done by Irina Litvinova, Vladimir Steshenko, Oleg Vovk, you, and other journalists who work for Russian publications. But there's not a wide choice, as you can see. Try to find in Latvia enough prominent, Russian-speaking humanitarians who could master the unique

demands of working on television in the shortest possible time. There are no such people. And the reason is also well known—Latvian television has never cared about its Russian-language broadcasts.

A militia officer approached to find out whether the picketers had permission to demonstrate. Yes, they did. Do not the signs offend the television employees, do they not impinge on their national pride? After pausing a second, the representative of the authorities answered: "No, they don't appear to..." (The pause was prompted by a sign that read: "Put genuine communists on the Russian editorial staff.") "Maybe some people would find it offensive," the militia captain said. "People can see things differently..."

"But you haven't had any complaints about the pickets?"

"None so far."

[Shum] I approached another picketer. She was Lyudmila Petukhova, a member of the International Front's information group. I asked her the same questions.

[Petukhova] You see, we are demanding objectivity on Latvian television, so there are no categorical statements like, "These people represent the conscience of the nation, while those people are blabberers and liars." And where objectivity is concerned, our TV should learn from the BBC: first the facts and only the facts, then commentary.

[Shum] And now let's leave the pickets behind and try to watch republic television for ourselves.

Are there a lot of programs in Russian? Judging from figures cited in the press on more than one occasion, there are many. But the whole question turns on what KIND of programs they are. And here, it turns out, they include feature films, documentaries, and cartoons—in other words, programs we can readily find on the two other, ALL-UNION channels. And it becomes clear that the leadership of Latvian television, instead of producing highly professional programs in Russian—the kind of programs the times demand—is spending its time writing perfunctory bureaucratic replies to the effect that the number of broadcast hours in Russian is quite sufficient, and forgetting about such a simple aspect of the matter as the QUALITY of these programs. Precious time is being wasted as the bureaucrats spend their time writing memos.

Let us no longer see these Russian-language films on republic television, let the number of broadcast hours in Russian be cut to a minimum—that's nothing to worry about. The important thing is that the quality of broadcasting in Russian becomes the chief concern. Let there be Russian-language programs on the LPF's activities, and let them be followed by programs produced by IF supporters. Let there be pieces by journalists who analyze events outside the fronts (and what's with our

massing on fronts, anyway? Haven't we forgotten WHY these fronts were organized?!). In short, the Russian staff is obliged to work objectively, to take a deep breath, and to fill in the information deficit that exists in society today.

In this regard, I agree with the picketers.

True, the leadership of Latvian television has some work to do. Filling in on a graph the number of hours during which all manner of Russian-language films are broadcast is, of course, the easier thing to do.

### **Latvian SSR Law on Elections of People's Deputies**

18001176 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
24 May 89 pp 2-3

["Draft Law of the Latvian SSR On Elections of Latvian SSR People's Deputies"]

[Text]

## **1. GENERAL PRINCIPLES**

### **Article 1. Basis of the elections of Latvian SSR people's deputies**

The elections of Latvian SSR people's deputies are conducted by single-mandate and multiple-mandate electoral districts on the basis of universal, equal, and direct franchise with secret voting and the expression of free will.

### **Article 2. Universal franchise**

The elections of Latvian SSR people's deputies are universal: citizens of Latvian SSR who have reached the age of 18 years have the right to vote.

A citizen of Latvian SSR who has reached the age of 21 years can be elected Latvian SSR people's deputy.

A citizen of Latvian SSR cannot be simultaneously a people's deputy in more than two soviets of people's deputies.

Military personnel in units of the USSR Armed Forces that are deployed on the territory of Latvian SSR can vote and can be elected irrespective of whether they are citizens of Latvian SSR.

Any direct or indirect limitations of the franchise of citizens of Latvian SSR depending upon their origin, social or property condition, their race or nationality, sex, education, language, attitude toward religion, period of time of residence in a particular locality, or the type or nature of their occupation are prohibited.

Mentally ill citizens who have been certified by the court as being incompetent, persons being maintained at places of incarceration, and persons who have been sent to places of enforced medical treatment on the basis of a court decision do not participate in elections.

### **Article 3. Equal franchise**

The elections of Latvian SSR people's deputies are equal: the voter has a single vote; citizens of Latvian SSR participate in elections on equal foundations.

### **Article 4. Direct franchise**

The elections of Latvian SSR people's deputies are direct: the people's deputies are elected by the citizens directly.

### **Article 5. Free elections and secret voting**

The elections of Latvian SSR people's deputies are free. Exerting an influence on the expression of the voters' will by means of violence, deception, threats, bribery, or other illegal method, or the abuse of the expression of the voters' will entails the legally stipulated responsibility.

The voting at elections of Latvian SSR people's deputies is secret: monitoring of the expression of the voters' will is not allowed.

### **Article 6. Conducting of elections by electoral commissions**

The conducting of elections of Latvian SSR people's deputies is provided by electoral commissions which are formed from representatives of labor collectives, collectives of school and university students, public organizations, assemblies of voters at their place of residence, and military personnel at their military units.

### **Article 7. Glasnost when preparing the conducting the elections of Latvian SSR people's deputies**

The preparation and conducting of elections of Latvian SSR people's deputies are carried out by electoral commissions, labor collectives, collectives of school and university students, and public organizations openly and publicly.

The electoral commissions inform the citizens about their work, about the formation of the electoral districts and wards, the composition, location, and work time of the electoral commissions and about the lists of voters. The electoral commissions provide the citizens with information concerning the nomination of candidates and the results of registering the candidates for election as deputies, and with biographical data concerning the registered candidates, and the basic principles of their election platforms, the results of the voting for each candidate, and the results of the election.

At sessions of the electoral commission, including the process of registering the candidates for election as deputies, of computing the votes at the polling station, determining the results of the election for the district, and summing up the overall results of the election, representatives of labor collectives, collectives of school and university students, public organizations, assemblies of voters, proxies, and representatives of the press, television, and radio have the right to be present.

The foundation for the participation of a representative of a labor collective or a collective of school or university students, public organization, or assembly of voters at a session of the electoral commission is an excerpt from the minutes of a meeting to nominate a candidate, or a session of the elected agency of a public organizations which excerpt has been registered by the appropriate electoral commission.

The mass media throw light on the course of the preparation and conducting of the elections of the Latvian SSR people's deputies and are guaranteed unimpeded access to all meetings and sessions connected with the election. Electoral commissions, state and public agencies, labor collectives, and collectives of school and university students submit to them the available information that is linked with the preparation and conducting of the election.

**Article 8. Participation of citizens, labor collectives, collectives of school and university students, and public organization in the preparation and conducting of elections of Latvian SSR people's deputies**

Citizens of Latvian SSR take part in the preparation and conducting of elections of Latvian SSR people's deputies both by way of the labor collectives, collectives of school and university students, public organizations, assemblies of voters at their place of residence, and of military personnel at their military units, and also directly.

Labor collectives, collectives of school and university students, and public organizations participate in the preparation and conducting of elections of Latvian SSR people's deputies both by way of their representatives in the electoral commissions, and also directly.

**Article 9. Right to nominate candidates for election as Latvian SSR people's deputies**

The right to nominate candidates for election as Latvian SSR people's deputies in the individual electoral districts belongs to labor collectives, collectives of school and university students, public organizations, and assemblies of voters at their place of residence and of military personnel at their military units.

**Article 10. Voters' mandates to Latvian SSR people's deputies**

The voters give mandates to their deputies.

The procedure for submitting, summarizing, considering, and organizing the fulfillment of mandates is established by the Latvian SSR Constitution and the laws of Latvian SSR.

**Article 11. Incompatibility of the status of Latvian SSR people's deputy and one's official position**

Persons who are members of Latvian SSR Council of Ministers (with the exception of the chairman of Latvian SSR Council of Ministers); the chairman and members of Latvian SSR Committee for Constitutional Oversight; deputy ministers and chairmen of state committees; the administrators of Latvian SSR and their deputies; the Chairman and members of Latvian SSR Supreme Court; the Chief State Arbiter and the state arbiters of Latvian SSR; and Latvian SSR Procurator and his deputies cannot simultaneously be Latvian SSR people's deputies.

**Article 12. Expenses linked with elections of Latvian SSR people's deputies. Material support of the elections**

The expenses linked with preparing and conducting the elections of Latvian SSR people's deputies are paid from state funds. The financing of an election campaign from other sources is prohibited.

Enterprises, institutions, and organizations, and state and public agencies provide the electoral commissions with the office space and equipment necessary for preparing and conducting the election.

Candidates for election as Latvian SSR people's deputies and the voters do not bear the expenses linked with preparing and conducting an election.

**Article 13. Responsibility for violating the legislation governing the elections of Latvian SSR people's deputies**

Persons who, by means of violence, deception, threats, bribery, or other illegal means, prevent a citizen of Latvian SSR from freely exercising his right to elect or be elected as an Latvian SSR people's deputy or from carrying out election agitation, and the members of electoral commissions and officials of state and public agencies who have forged election documents, deliberately miscounted the votes, violated the secrecy of the vote, or committed other violations of this Law, bear the legally established responsibility. Persons who have published or who have, in some other manner, disseminated false information about the candidate for election as deputy are also legally answerable.

**2. PROCEDURE FOR DESIGNATING AN ELECTION AND FOR FORMING ELECTORAL DISTRICTS**

**Article 14. Designating an election of Latvian SSR people's deputies**

Elections of Latvian SSR people's deputies are designated by Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet no later than four months prior to the expiration of the official term of Latvian SSR people's deputies.

An announcement of the election day is published in the press.

#### **Article 15. Formation of electoral districts**

In order to hold an election of Latvian SSR people's deputies, the Latvian SSR Central Electoral Commission, acting on behalf of the Presidium of Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, forms 325 single-mandate territorial electoral districts.

In order to hold an election of Latvian SSR people's deputies from the units of the USSR Armed Forces that are deployed on the territory of Latvian SSR, the Latvian SSR Central Electoral Commission, acting on behalf of the command element of the military district, forms single-mandate or multiple-mandate electoral districts.

One Latvian SSR people's deputy is elected from each territorial electoral district.

Twelve Latvian SSR people's deputies are elected from the electoral districts on the basis of electing Latvian SSR people's deputies from the USSR Armed Forces.

The lists of the territorial electoral districts, with an indication of their boundaries and the locations of the electoral commissions, are published by Latvian SSR Central Electoral Commission no later than the tenth day after the designation of the election.

#### **Article 16. Territory of electoral districts**

The territorial electoral districts for the election of Latvian SSR people's deputies are formed, as a rule, with an equal number of voters over the entire territory of Latvian SSR. When determining the boundaries of the electoral districts, consideration is taken of the administrative-territorial division of Latvian SSR. The standard number of voters per electoral district for each election is established by Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet.

### **3. ELECTORAL WARDS**

#### **Article 17. Formation of wards**

In order to conduct the voting and to count the votes during the election of Latvian SSR people's deputies, the territory of the rayon, cities, and city rayons is divided into wards. Wards are also formed in military units and are part of the appropriate electoral district for the election of Latvian SSR people's deputies from the USSR Armed Forces.

#### **Article 18. Procedure and standard for formation of wards**

Wards are formed by the rayon, city (other than in cities of rayon subordination), and city-rayon soviets of people's deputies or by their presidiums with a consideration of the boundaries of the electoral districts. On ships that are en route on the election day, wards are

formed by the soviets of people's deputies or their presidiums in accordance with the ship's place of registry or the location of the kolkhoz board of governors. In military units, wards are formed by the unit commanders after coordination with the appropriate soviet of people's deputies or its presidium.

Wards are formed no later than the twelfth day after the designation of an election. In military units and on ships that are en route on the election day, the wards are formed within the same period, or, in exceptional instances, no later than five days before the election.

Wards are formed for no fewer than 20 voters and no more than 3000. In exceptional instances, the local soviet of people's deputies or its presidium, or the commander of the military unit, has the right to form a ward with a larger number of voters.

The appropriate local soviet of people's deputies or its presidium, or the commander of the military unit, inform the voters about the boundaries of each ward, with an indication of the location of the ward electoral commission and the voting place.

### **4. ELECTORAL COMMISSIONS**

#### **Article 19. System of electoral commissions**

In order to hold elections of Latvian SSR people's deputies, the following electoral commissions are formed:

—Latvian SSR Central Electoral Commission;

—district electoral commissions for electing Latvian SSR people's deputies;

—ward electoral commissions.

#### **Article 20. Formation of Latvian SSR Central Electoral Commission**

Latvian SSR Central Electoral Commission is formed by Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet with a consideration of the recommendations of the rayon and city (in cities of republic subordination) soviets of people's deputies or their presidiums and the republic agencies of public organizations no later than the fifth day after the designation of the election, and consists of a chairman, two deputy chairmen, a secretary, and 29 commission members.

The term of office of Latvian SSR Central Electoral Commission is five years.

#### **Article 21. Powers of Latvian SSR Central Electoral Commission**

Latvian SSR Central Electoral Commission:



1) monitors, on the entire territory of Latvian SSR, the execution of this Law and guarantees its uniform application; and, when necessary, makes recommendations to Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet concerning the interpretation of this Law;

2) directs the activity of the electoral commissions; determines the procedure for making changes in the makeup of the electoral commissions;

3) forms the electoral districts;

4) distributes monetary funds to the electoral districts; monitors the providing to the electoral commissions of accommodations, transportation, and communication, and considers other questions of the material-technical support of the elections;

5) establishes the forms to be used in the ballots, the voter lists, the minutes of the pre-election meetings and sessions of the electoral commissions, and of other election documents; establishes the models of ballot boxes and the seals to be used by the electoral commissions, and the procedure for storing the election documents;

6) listens to reports given by the electoral commissions, ministries, state committees, and departments of Latvian SSR, and by other state and public agencies, on questions linked with the preparation and conducting of elections of people's deputies;

7) registers the elected deputies; sums up the results of the election for the republic as a whole; and publishes in the press a report on the election results and a list of the elected Latvian SSR people's deputies;

8) transfers to the credentials commission of the Congress of Latvian SSR People's Deputies the documentation that is needed for verifying the deputies' powers;

9) resolves questions linked with the holding of runoff elections;

10) resolves questions linked with organizing the recall of Latvian SSR people's deputies;

11) designates the elections of Latvian SSR people's deputies to fill vacancies left by deputies, and provides for conducting them;

12) considers statements and complaints concerning the decisions and actions of the electoral commissions and makes the final decisions concerning them;

13) transfers to investigative agencies the materials concerning violations of the Law Governing the Election of Latvian SSR People's Deputies that entail criminal responsibility;

14) carries out other duties in conformity with this Law and other laws of Latvian SSR.

#### **Article 22. Formation of district electoral commissions**

A district electoral commission is formed in each electoral district for elections of Latvian SSR people's deputies no later than the fifteenth day after the designation of the election, and consists of 11-17 members.

The representatives who make up the district electoral commission are nominated by the labor collectives or their councils, by collectives of school and university students, by general meetings (meetings of authorized individuals) or boards of kolkhozes, by rayon, city, or city-rayon agencies of other public organizations, and meetings of voters at their place of residence and military personnel at their military units. Meetings of voters at their place of residence have the right to nominate representatives to make up the district electoral commission if no fewer than one hundred voters participate in the meeting.

The district electoral commissions for elections of Latvian SSR people's deputies are formed by the Presidium of Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The term of office of the district electoral commission is five years.

#### **Article 23. Powers of the district electoral commission**

The district electoral commission for elections of Latvian SSR people's deputies:

1) monitors the execution of this Law on the territory of the electoral district;

2) directs the activity of the ward electoral commissions;

3) listens to reports given by the executive and directive agencies of the local soviets of people's deputies and the administrators of enterprises, institutions, and organizations with regard to questions linked with the preparation and holding of elections;

4) observes the preparation of the voter lists and the submittal of them for general familiarization;

5) helps to organize the nomination of candidates for election as deputies;

6) registers the candidates nominated for election as deputies and issues the appropriate identification documents to them, and provides for the publishing of posters with biographical information concerning the candidates for election as deputies;

7) registers the proxies of the candidates for election as deputies;

8) organizes, jointly with the labor collectives, collectives of school and university students, and public organizations, meetings between the candidates for election as deputies and the voters, both in the collectives and at the voters' place of residence;

9) approves the text of the ballot for the electoral district, and provides for the manufacture of the ballots and the supplying of them to the ward electoral commissions;

10) establishes and publishes in the press the results of the election in the electoral district, and issues an identification document to the elected deputy;

11) organizing the holding of a runoff vote and a runoff election, as well as an election to fill a vacancy left by a deputy;

12) resolves questions linked with conducting the recall of a deputy;

13) considers the statements and complaints concerning the decisions and actions of the ward electoral commissions and makes decisions concerning them;

14) carries out other duties in conformity with this Law.

#### **Article 24. Formation of ward electoral commissions**

The ward electoral commission is formed no later than the thirtieth day after the designation of the election, and consists of 3-19 persons.

The representatives who make up the ward electoral commission are nominated by the labor collectives or their councils, collectives of school and university students, general meetings (meetings of authorized individuals) or boards of kolkhozes, rayon, city, and city-rayon agencies of other public organizations, and meetings of voters at their place of residence and military personnel at their military units. A meeting of voters at their place of residence has the right to nominate representatives to make up the ward electoral commission if no fewer than 50 voters participate in the meeting.

The ward electoral commissions are approved by the rayon and city (other than for cities of rayon subordination), and city-rayon soviets of people's deputies or their presidiums, from among the candidates who have been nominated, with a consideration of the representative of all the basic social groups.

#### **Article 25. Powers of the ward electoral commission.**

The ward electoral commission:

1) prepares a list of voters in the ward;

2) familiarizes the voters with the list of voters, accepts and considers statements concerning inaccuracies in the list, and resolves the question of making the appropriate changes in it;

3) accepts from voters who intend, on the election day, to be absent from their place of residence, or from their proxies, the ballots or election envelopes;

4) informs the population about the day of the election and the voting place;

5) provides for the preparation of the accommodations for voting and for the ballot boxes;

6) organizes at the ward the voting on the day of the election;

7) counts the votes cast at the ward;

8) considers the statements and complaints dealing with questions of preparing the election and organizing the voting, and makes the decisions pertaining to them;

9) carries out other duties in conformity with this Law.

#### **Article 26. Organizing the work of the electoral commissions**

The chairman, deputy chairman, and secretary of the electoral commission are elected at a session of the appropriate commission.

The sessions of the electoral commission are empowered if no fewer than two-thirds of the makeup of the commission takes part in them. The decisions of the commission are made by open voting, by a majority of the votes in the total makeup of the commission. Commission members who do not agree with its decision have the right to express a special opinion which, in written form, is appended to the minutes and is sent for review to the superior electoral commission.

The decisions of the electoral commissions that are made within the confines of their powers are mandatory for execution by all state and public agencies, enterprises, institutions, and organizations.

The decisions and actions of the electoral commission can be appealed at the superior electoral commission, and, in instances that are stipulated by this Law, also in court.

Members of the electoral commission, on the basis of a commission decision, can be freed, during the period of preparation and conducting the election, from fulfilling their production or official duties, and are guaranteed earnings that are no less than their average earnings, payable from the funds that are allocated for the holding of the election.

A member of the electoral commission does not have the right to participate in agitation for or against the candidates for election as people's deputies.

**Article 27. Assisting the electoral commission in carrying out their duties**

State and public agencies, enterprises, institutions, and organizations, and officials are required to assist the electoral commissions in carrying out their duties, to provide them with the information and materials needed to perform their work, and to send to the electoral commissions, for their disposal, representatives to act as informants for executing individual instructions issued by the commissions.

The electoral commission has the right, when dealing with questions linked with the preparation and conducting of elections, to contact state and public agencies, enterprises, institutions, and organizations, and officials, who are required to consider the question that has been raised and to give the electoral commission an answer within three days.

**5. VOTER LISTS**

**Article 28. Voter list and procedure for preparing it**

A voter list is prepared for each ward and is signed by the chairman and secretary of the ward electoral commission. In order to participate in the work of preparing the list, the ward electoral commission can involve representatives of the public.

The executive committees of city, city-rayon, settlement, and rural soviets of people's deputies maintain the records pertaining to the voters and transmit to the ward electoral commissions information concerning the voters who are residing on the corresponding territory, which information is needed to prepare the voter lists, and assist in preparing the voter lists.

The lists of voters who are military personnel are prepared on the basis of information submitted by the commanders of military units and chiefs of military institutions.

The voter lists for the wards that have been formed on ships which are en route on the election day are prepared on the basis of information submitted by the ship captains.

The last names of the voters are indicated in the voter list in an order that is convenient for organizing the voting.

**Article 29. Procedure for including citizens in the voter list**

The voter list includes all the citizens of Latvian SSR who, before or on the election day, have reached the age of 18 years, who live permanently, as of the moment

when the list is being prepared, on the territory of the particular ward, and who have the right to participate in the voting. The place that is recognized as being the place of permanent residence, when applying this Law, is the place of permanent registration, with the exception of school and university students, whose place of residence is the place where they are registered for the period of instruction.

The list of voters who are military personnel includes all the military personnel who are carrying out military service in a unit that is situated on the territory of Latvian SSR and that is assigned to the particular ward, irrespective of whether they have Latvian SSR citizenship.

A voter cannot be included in the list of voters in another ward outside his place of residence.

A voter who is on a vessel that is en route on election day is removed from the voter list at the ward where he has permanent residence.

**Article 30. Familiarizing the citizens with the voter list and the right to appeal inaccuracies in the voter list**

The voter lists are submitted for general familiarization one month before the election.

Citizens are provided the opportunity to acquaint themselves with the voter list and to check the accuracy of its preparation at the office space of the ward electoral commission.

Every citizen is given the right to appeal his noninclusion or incorrect inclusion in the list or his exclusion from the list, and to appeal any inaccuracies in the list with regard to the information about the voter. A statement concerning the inaccuracies in the list is reviewed by the ward electoral commission, which is required, within a two-week period—or on the day before the election or on election day, immediately—to review the statement and to make the necessary changes in the list, or to issue to the person who has made the statement a copy of the justified decision to reject his statement. That decision can be appealed no later than five days before the election to a rayon (city) people's court, which is required to consider the complaint within a three-day period. The decision of the rayon (city) people's court is final. A correction in the voter list in conformity with a court decision is made immediately by the ward electoral commission.

**6. NOMINATION AND REGISTRATION OF CANDIDATES FOR ELECTION AS Latvian SSR People's Deputies**

**Article 31. Time periods for nominating candidates for election as Latvian SSR people's deputies**

Nomination of candidates for election as Latvian SSR people's deputies begins three months before the election day, and ends two months before the election day.

**Article 32. Procedure for nominating candidates for election as Latvian SSR people's deputies in the electoral districts**

The candidates for election as Latvian SSR people's deputies in the territorial electoral districts are nominated by labor collectives, collectives of school and university students, public organizations, and meetings of voters at their place of residence.

Candidates for election as Latvian SSR people's deputies are nominated at meetings (conferences) of the labor collectives of enterprises, institutions, and organizations which have no fewer than a hundred workers and which are situated on the territory of the corresponding electoral district. The right to nominate a candidate for election as an Latvian SSR people's deputy is also enjoyed by the collective of a branch or other subdivision that has no fewer than a hundred workers if the branch or other subdivision is situated on the territory of another electoral district. Labor collectives which have fewer than a hundred workers and which are situated on the territory of one electoral district can nominate candidates for election as Latvian SSR people's deputies at a joint meeting (conference).

Candidates for election as deputies are nominated at general meetings (conferences) of students at higher and secondary special educational institutions.

Candidates for election as deputies for the territorial districts are nominated by the rayon, city, and city-rayon agencies of public organizations—conferences or plenums—and also by general meetings (meetings of authorized individuals) of kolkhozes.

A meeting of voters at their place of residence to nominate candidates for election as deputy is convoked by the appropriate soviet of people's deputies or its presidium, jointly with the district electoral commission, or is conducted on the initiative of the voters. The meeting is valid if no fewer than a hundred voters living on the territory of the particular electoral district are present at that meeting.

Candidates for election as Latvian SSR people's deputies from the USSR Armed Forces are nominated by meetings of military personnel in military units, which meetings are convoked by the command element of the military units. The meeting of the military personnel to nominate candidates for election as deputies is valid if no fewer than half the personnel of the military unit are present at that meeting.

No later than three days before the holding of a meeting to nominate a candidate for election as deputy, the district electoral commission is informed of this, and in places that are accessible for everyone who has an interest in the matter, announcements are posted.

Before opening the meeting, on the basis of the results of registering the participants, the validity of the meeting is established. The progress of the meeting is reflected in the minutes, which are recorded in conformity with Article 33 of this Law.

Conditions are created at the meeting for nominating an unlimited number of candidates. Each participant at the meeting has the right to make recommendations concerning candidates for election as deputies, to participate in discussing them, and to support the proposed candidacies, or to make proposals to reject them. A participant at the meeting can propose his own candidacy for discussion as a candidate for election as deputy. The decision to nominate a candidate for election as deputy is made at the meeting by open or secret voting. The sequence of discussing the candidacies, the voting procedure, and other procedural questions are determined by the meeting.

The meeting can nominate for each district one candidate for election as deputy. The candidate is considered to be nominated if he has received more than half the votes of the participants in the meeting, or the majority of the total makeup of the appropriate agency of a public organization, with every participant in the meeting or session having the right to vote for one candidacy. Minutes concerning the nomination of a candidate for election as deputy are prepared, and are submitted to the district electoral commission within three days. The decision that has been made is reported within a two-week period to the person who was nominated as candidate for election as deputy.

**Article 33. Minutes of meetings (sessions) to nominate candidates for election as Latvian SSR people's deputies**

Minutes of a meeting (session) to nominate candidates for election as Latvian SSR people's deputies are recorded by a secretary who has been selected by the meeting (session). The minutes indicate: the initiator of the convoking of the meeting; the name of the labor collective, the collective of school and university students, the agency of a public organization, the populated place or city housing area where the meeting of residents was held; the total number of persons in the labor collective, collective of school and university students, agency of public organization, inhabitants of the populated place or city housing area; the number of participants in the meeting (session); information concerning the leadership of the meeting, the progress of the meeting, with an indication of all those who made statements, with an exposition of the content of their statements and the proposals that were made; and the progress and results of the voting to nominate candidates for election as Latvian SSR people's deputies. The minutes also indicate the persons who were authorized to represent the collective, agency of a public organization, or meeting at sessions of electoral commissions.



The minutes are signed by the meeting presidium and are certified by the seal of the appropriate enterprise, institution, organization, agency of a public organization, or executive committee of a local soviet of people's deputies.

A list of the persons present at the meeting, with an indication of their last name, first name, and patronymic, their year of birth, and their place of work and residence, is appended to the minutes.

**Article 34. Registration of candidates for election as Latvian SSR people's deputies**

Candidates for election as Latvian SSR people's deputies are registered by the district electoral commission on behalf of labor collectives, collectives of school and university students, agencies of public organizations, and meetings of voters at their place of residence and of military personnel at their military units, who have nominated candidates for election as deputies.

The registration of the candidates begins two months before the election day, and ends 45 days before the election day.

The decision concerning the registration of candidates for election as deputies is made if the following documents are present: minutes of the meetings (sessions) to nominate candidates for election as deputies in the particular electoral district, and a statement from the candidate for election as deputy that he consents to run in the particular electoral district. The person who has been nominated as candidate for election as deputy submits that statement to the district electoral commission no later than the third day after the expiration of the period for nomination of candidates for election as Latvian SSR people's deputies. The persons listed in Article 11 of this Law, in the event that they have been nominated as candidates for election as deputies, indicate in their statements their intention to free the occupied positions if they are elected as deputies, or communicate in writing the withdrawal of their candidacies.

A candidate for election as deputy can run simultaneously in only one electoral district.

The appropriate district electoral commission registers the candidates for election as deputies who have been nominated with the observance of the requirements stated in this Law. Refusal to register can be appealed within a three-day period to the Latvian SSR Central Electoral Commission, or to the court.

The district electoral commission prepares minutes concerning the registration of the candidates for election as deputies, which minutes, together with the statements submitted by the candidates for election as deputies, are submitted to Latvian SSR Central Electoral Commission.

A candidate for election as deputy cannot be a member of the Latvian SSR Central Electoral Commission, or a member of a district or ward electoral commission. A person who has been nominated as a candidate for election as deputy, and who is a member of one of the indicated commission, is considered to be released from his duties in the commission as of the moment that he is registered as a candidate for election as deputy.

The appropriate electoral commission, no later than the fourth day after the registration of the candidates for election as deputies, publishes in the press a report on the registration, with an indication of the last name, first name, and patronymic, year of birth, occupied position (occupation), and place of work and residence of each candidate for election as deputy.

**Article 35. Cancellation of the decision to nominate and register a candidate for election as an Latvian SSR people deputy. Withdrawal by a candidate of his own candidacy**

A labor collective, collective of school or university students, agency of a public organization, or a meeting of voters at their place of residence or of military personnel at their military unit, which has nominated a candidate for election as an Latvian SSR people's deputy, has the right no later than five days before the election, to cancel its decision to nominate a candidate for election as deputy. The decision with regard to this question is made in the procedure stipulated for the nomination of candidates for election as deputy, and is submitted to the appropriate district electoral commission. The repudiation by all collectives and organization of their decision to nominate a candidate entails for an unregistered candidate the refusal to register his candidacy, and for a registered candidate the cancellation of the registration.

A candidate for election as deputy, no later than five days before the election, can withdraw his candidacy by sending a written statement to that effect to the appropriate district electoral commission.

**Article 36. Procedure for nominating candidates for election as Latvian SSR people's deputies to fill vacancies that have been left**

In the event that a candidate for election as Latvian SSR people's deputy vacates that status after the completion of the period for nominating candidates for election as deputy, if there are no other candidates in the electoral district, the district electoral commission requests the labor collectives, collectives of school or university students, public organizations, or meetings of voters at their place of residence or military personnel at their military units to nominate new candidates for election as deputies.

In the event of repudiation of a decision to nominate a candidate for election as deputy or the candidate's withdrawal of his own candidacy after the completion of the period of nominating candidates for election as

deputies, whether or not there are other candidates in the electoral district the district electoral commission, on the request of the labor collectives, collectives of school or university students, or meetings of voters at their place of residence or meetings of military personnel that represent no less than one-tenth of the voters in the appropriate district, makes a decision concerning the determination of an additional two-week period for nominating candidates to fill the vacancy.

In the event that there is a vacancy among the candidates for election as deputies from the USSR Armed Forces, if the total number of candidates remaining in the electoral district becomes less than the number of mandates, the district electoral commission organizes the holding of meetings of military personnel in order to nominate new candidates for election as deputies.

The nomination of candidates for election as deputies to fill vacancies is carried out in the procedure established by this Law. In the event that a vacancy is created among the candidates for election as deputies less than a month before the election, the election of a deputy from the corresponding electoral district is carried out within a two-month period after the general election.

#### **Article 37. Ballot**

The ballot for an election of Latvian SSR people's deputies for a territorial district includes in alphabetical order all the registered candidates for election as Latvian SSR people's deputies, with an indication of the last name, first name, and patronymic, the occupied position (occupation), and place of work and residence of each candidate for election as deputy. The ballot indicates that the voter must leave in the ballot no more than one candidacy.

The ballot for an election of Latvian SSR people's deputies from the USSR Armed Forces includes in alphabetical order all the registered candidates for election as Latvian SSR people's deputies, with an indication of the last name, first name, and patronymic, occupied position, and military rank of each candidate for election as deputy. The ballot indicates the number of candidates that corresponds to the number of mandates for the district. The ballots are printed in Latvian and Russian.

### **7. GUARANTEES OF THE ACTIVITY OF THE CANDIDATES FOR ELECTION AS LATVIAN SSR PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES**

**Article 38. The right of candidates for election as Latvian SSR people's deputies to speak at meetings, to use the mass media, and to receive information.**

Candidates for election as Latvian SSR people's deputies, from the moment of their registration by the electoral commissions, have equal rights and are granted equal opportunities to speak at pre-election and other meetings, conferences, or sessions, in the press, or over television and radio.

Latvian SSR Central Electoral Commission informs the public about the progress of the election campaign and provides familiarization with the election platforms of all the candidates for election as Latvian SSR people's deputies.

State and public agencies, the administrators of enterprises, institutions, and organizations, and commanders of military units are required to render the candidates for election as Latvian SSR people's deputies assistance in organizing meetings with the voters and in obtaining the necessary reference and informational materials.

The creation of obstacles to meetings between a candidate for election as a deputy and the voters entails criminal responsibility.

#### **Article 39. Election platform of a candidate for election as an Latvian SSR people's deputy**

A candidate for election as an Latvian SSR people's candidate makes a statement that contains the platform for his future activity. The platform of a candidate for election as a deputy cannot be directed against the foundations of the state or social system as stated in the USSR Constitution and the Latvian SSR Constitution, cannot contain war propaganda or appeals to national hatred or the infringement of the citizen's constitutional rights.

#### **Article 40. Proxies of a candidate for election as Latvian SSR people's deputy**

A candidate for election as Latvian SSR people's deputy can have as many as ten proxies, who help him to conduct the election campaign, who carry out agitation to elect him as deputy, and who represent his interests in interrelationships with state and public agencies, the voters, members of public organizations, and also in the electoral commissions.

A candidate for election as deputy, after his nomination, establishes his proxies at his own discretion and reports concerning them in order to register them at the appropriate district electoral commission. From the moment of registration, the proxies have the right to carry out agitation for their candidate. The electoral commission, after the registration of the proxies, issues identification documents to them.

At the request of a candidate for election as people's deputy, a proxy can, for the period of time required to carry out his social duties that are linked with the election, be released from executing his production or official duties, with the retention of his average earnings at his place of work. The expenses incurred in this regard by the enterprises, institutions, or organizations are reimbursed, on their request, from the funds allocated for the holding of the election.

A proxy cannot be a member of an electoral commission.

**Article 41. Pre-election agitation**

Labor collectives, collectives of school and university students, voters at their place of residence, and public organizations that have nominated candidates for election as deputies, and the proxies of the candidates for election as deputies, are granted the right of unobstructed agitation for their candidates. The district electoral commissions provide the labor collectives, collectives of school and university students, voters at their place of residence, and public organizations with accommodations for holding their meetings and rallies, and also with mass media for conducting pre-election agitation.

Citizens of Latvian SSR, labor collectives, collectives of school or university students, and public organizations are guaranteed the opportunity to discuss freely and completely the political, on-the-job, and personal qualities of the candidate for election as deputy, and his ability to execute the duties of deputy and the platform of his future activity, as well as the right to conduct agitation for or against candidates at meetings, in the press, or over television or radio.

The candidates for election as Latvian SSR people's deputies meet their voters both at meetings and in any other form that is convenient for the voters. Meetings of voters are organized by the district electoral commission, jointly with the appropriate soviet of people's deputies or its presidium.

The time and place where the meetings are held are reported to the voters ahead of time, but no later than three days before they are to be held.

On instructions from the electoral commissions, the informants, who do not have the right to agitate for or against any of the candidates for election as deputies, inform the voters concerning the biographical data of the candidates for election as deputies and concerning the brief content of their platforms.

Agitation is not permitted on election day.

**Article 42. Releasing the candidate for election as Latvian SSR people's deputy from his production or official duties in order to participate in the pre-election measures**

The candidate for election as Latvian SSR people's deputy, after registration, for the period of time needed to conduct meetings with the voters and to make statements at pre-election meetings, rallies, and over the television and radio, is released from the fulfillment of his production or official duties, with the retention of his average earnings, payable from the funds that are allocated to conduct the election, and also does not have to take part in military assemblies.

**Article 43. The right of the candidate for election as Latvian SSR people's deputy to travel free of charge**

A candidate for election as Latvian SSR people's deputy, after registration, has the right to travel free of charge on all types of passenger transportation (with the exception of taxi cabs) within the limits of the rayon or city where the corresponding electoral district is situated. A candidate for election as Latvian SSR people's deputy who lives outside the limits of the rayon or city where the electoral district is situated enjoys the same right for traveling to the electoral district and returning to his place of residence.

**Article 44. Inviolability of the candidate for election as Latvian SSR people's deputy**

A candidate for election as Latvian SSR people's deputy cannot be brought to criminal responsibility, detained, arrested, or subjected to search or measures of administrative punishment that are imposed by a court procedure, without the consent of Latvian SSR Central Electoral Commission.

In the event of a threat to the inviolability of the person of the candidate for election as Latvian SSR people's deputy, the members of his family, or his property, the state guarantees their security.

**8. PROCEDURE OF VOTING AND SUMMING UP THE ELECTION RESULTS**

**Article 45. Time and place of voting**

During an election of Latvian SSR people's deputies, the voting is done on the election day from 0700 to 2000 hours, local time. The ward electoral commission informs the voters about the time and place of the voting no later than ten days before the election.

At wards formed on ships and in military units, the ward electoral district can declare the voting to be completed at any time if all the voters included on the list have cast their vote.

**Article 48. Organizing the voting**

The voting is done in areas which have been specially set aside, where a sufficient number of booths or rooms for secret voting must be installed, indications must be given concerning the places where the ballots are issued, and ballot boxes must be set up. The ballot boxes are set up in such a way that, in order to approach them, the persons who are voting must necessarily pass through the booths or rooms for the secret voting.

The responsibility for organizing the voting, for guaranteeing the secrecy of the expression of the voters' will, for equipping the voting areas, and maintaining the necessary order there is borne by the ward electoral commission.

On the election day, before the voting begins, the ballot boxes are sealed with lead or with a seal by the chairman of the ward electoral commission in the presence of all the members of the commission.

Every voter votes personally; voting for other persons is not authorized. The ballots are issued by the electoral commission on the basis of the list of voters for the ward, upon the person's presentation of his internal passport or other identification document. A notation is made in the voter list concerning the issuance of the ballot.

In instances when individual voters, for reasons of health or for other reasons, cannot come to the voting area to vote, the ward electoral commission, at their request, instructs individual members of the commission to organize the voting at the place where those voters are situated. In this instances no fewer than two commission members take part in organizing the voting.

#### **Article 47. Conducting the voting**

The ballot is filled out by the person voting in the booth or room for secret voting. When the ballot is being filled out, it is prohibited to have anyone present other than the person voting. A voter who is incapable of filling out the ballot independently has the right to invite into the booth or room another person at his discretion, other than a member of the electoral commission.

In an election of Latvian SSR people's deputies from the territorial electoral districts, the person voting crosses out on the ballot the names of the candidates against whom he is voting. No more than one name must be left on the ballot.

In an election of Latvian SSR people's deputies from units of the USSR Armed Forces, the person voting crosses out on the ballot the names of the candidates against whom he is voting. The names of candidates must remain on the ballot, with a consideration of the inadmissibility of exceeding the number of mandates for the district.

The person voting drops the completed ballot into the ballot box.

#### **Article 48. Procedure of voting for voters who are absent from their place of residence on election day**

A voter who is unable, on election day, to be at his place of residence (the existence of a trip ticket to a sanatorium or rest home; scheduled presence at a therapeutic institution; temporary duty assignment; vacation; etc.) has the right ahead of time to fill out his ballot and transfer it to the ward electoral commission at his place of residence.

A voter can receive a ballot at the ward no earlier than 20 days before the election day. The ballot is issued to the voter by a member of the ward electoral commission

upon the person's presentation of his internal passport or other identification document, and a notation concerning this is made in the voter list.

A voter who has received a ballot, under conditions that preclude monitoring of the expression of his will, crosses out on the bulletin the names of candidates for election as deputies against whom he is voting, and drops the ballot into a special, sealed ballot box for the votes cast by voters who are absent from their place of residence on election day.

In situations when the voter is unable personally to obtain a ballot at the ward at his place of residence (because he is in the hospital or another in-patient therapeutic institution, or for other reasons), he has the right to instruct another person to obtain a ballot on the basis of a power of attorney that has been certified in the legally established procedure.

The person acting with power of attorney for the voter is issued a ballot and a ballot envelope. The voting documents are issued to the person acting with power of attorney for the voter by a member of the ward electoral commission in conformity with the voter list, upon presentation of the voter's authorization, about which a notation is made in the voter list.

The voter, having received the ballot and the envelope from his authorized representative, inserts his ballot into the ballot envelope, after first crossing out in the ballot the names of the candidates for election as deputies against whom he is voting. The voter hands over the sealed envelope to his authorized representative, who returns to the ward before the termination of the voting period and drops the envelope into the ballot box containing the votes of persons who are absent from their place of residence on election day.

#### **Article 49. Procedure of voting for voters who are on a ship en route**

Members of a ship's crew who are en route on election day vote at a voting area that is formed on board the ship.

The voting on board a ship is carried out and the results of the vote count are formalized in conformity with the requirements of this Law. The voting results are immediately reported to the district electoral commission.

Members of a ship's crew that is preparing to set out on a voyage, when there are ballots at the wards at their place of residence, vote in the procedure stipulated by Article 48 of this Law.



#### **Article 50. Counting the votes at the polling station**

During an election of Latvian SSR people's deputies, the votes are counted at the polling station separately for each electoral district and for each candidate for election as deputy.

The ballot boxes are opened by the ward electoral commission after the announcement by the commission chairman that the voting was completed. The opening of the ballot boxes prior to the completion of the voting is prohibited. Before opening the ballot boxes, all the unused ballots are counted and are voided by the ward electoral commission.

The ward electoral commission, on the basis of the voter list, establishes the total number of voters in the ward, and also the number of voters who received ballots. On the basis of the ballots located in the ballot boxes, for each electoral district (within the limits of the particular ward), the commission establishes: the total number of voters who took part in the voting; the number of votes cast for and the number of votes cast against each candidate for election as deputy; and the number of ballots deemed to be invalid. The votes are not counted for persons for whom write-in votes were cast.

Ballots of nonstandard format are deemed to be invalid, and for elections for territorial electoral districts, also the ballots in which the names of more than one candidate were left. Other ballots deemed to be invalid are those cast by voters who voted prior to the election day for candidates for election as deputy who withdrew their candidacy or whose registration was canceled.

The ballots for an election of Latvian SSR people's deputies from the USSR Armed Forces are deemed to be invalid if the number of candidacies left exceeds the number of mandates for the district.

Ballots in which all the names are crossed out are deemed to be valid, but the votes on them are counted as having been cast against each candidate. If any doubts arise concerning the validity of a ballot, the question is resolved by the ward electoral commission by means of a vote.

The results of the vote count are reviewed at a session of the ward electoral commission and are recorded in the minutes. The minutes are signed by the chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, and members of the commission, and is sent to the appropriate district electoral commission in the procedure established by Latvian SSR Central Electoral Commission.

Any special opinions of commission members; statements or complaints received by the commission concerning violations committed during the course of the voting or when counting the votes; and a document prepared in the event that the lead or seal on the ballot box has been damaged are appended to the minutes.

#### **Article 51. Establishing the election results for the electoral district**

On the basis of the minutes from the ward electoral commissions, the district electoral commission determines: the total number of voters in the district; the number of voters who received ballots; the number of voters who took part in the voting; the number of votes cast for and the number of votes cast against each candidate for election as deputy; and the number of ballots deemed to be invalid.

The person who is considered to be elected is the candidate for election as Latvian SSR people's deputy who received in the election more than half the votes cast by the voters who took part in the voting.

The district electoral commission can deem the election to be invalid because of any violations of this Law that occurred in the course of the election or during the counting of the votes.

The election is deemed not to have occurred if less than half the number of voters listed in the voter list took part in it, or as a result of the death of a candidate for election as deputy if only one candidate was registered for the district or for one mandate.

The election results for the electoral district are established at a session of the district electoral commission and are recorded in the minutes. The minutes are signed by the chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, and members of the commission and are sent to Latvian SSR Central Electoral Commission in the procedure established by it.

A report on the election results for the electoral district is published in the press by the appropriate district electoral commission within the time period established by Latvian SSR Central Electoral Commission. The report indicates: the total number of citizens included in the voter lists; the number of voters who took part in the voting; the number of votes cast for and the number of votes cast against each candidate; the number of invalid ballots; and the last name, first name, and patronymic, occupied position (occupation), party status, and place of work and residence of the elected deputy.

### **9. PROCEDURE FOR COUNTING AND PUBLISHING THE RESULTS OF AN ELECTION OF LATVIAN SSR PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES**

#### **Article 52. Registration of Latvian SSR people's deputies**

Latvian SSR Central Electoral Commission, on the basis of the minutes received by it from the electoral commissions, registers the elected Latvian SSR people's deputies.

Latvian SSR Central Electoral Commission can deem the election to be invalid if, in the course of the election or when determining the election results, there were violations of this Law, and can refuse to register a person as the Latvian SSR people's deputy.

**Article 53. Publication of the results of an election of Latvian SSR people's deputies**

A report concerning the election results for the republic as a whole and a list of the elected Latvian SSR people's deputies is published by Latvian SSR Central Electoral Commission in the press no later than the tenth day after the end of the election, in alphabetical order with an indication of the last name, first name, and patronymic, the occupied position (occupation), party status, the deputy's place of work and residence, and the electoral district.

**Article 54. Identification document and lapel pin of Latvian SSR people's deputy**

The district electoral commission, after the publication in the press of the list of Latvian SSR people's deputies who have been registered by Latvian SSR Central Electoral Commission, issues to each elected deputy an identification document concerning his having been elected.

After the Congress of Latvian SSR People's Deputies has confirmed the powers of the elected deputies, the identification documents issued to them concerning their having been elected as deputy are replaced by a document identifying them as an Latvian SSR people's deputy. The deputy is also issued a lapel pin reading "Latvian SSR People's Deputy."

**10. RUNOFF, REPEAT ELECTIONS, AND ELECTIONS OF LATVIAN SSR PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES TO FILL VACANCIES**

**Article 55. Runoff elections**

If, for a single-mandate electoral district, more than two candidates for election as Latvian SSR people's deputies ran and neither one of them was elected, the district electoral commissions makes a decision concerning the holding of a runoff election in the district for the two candidates for election as deputy who received the largest number of votes.

A runoff election in an election of Latvian SSR people's deputies for a multiple-mandate electoral district is held in the event of the equality of the votes cast for the individual candidates for election as deputy that makes it impossible to determine the elected deputies.

The appropriate district electoral commission reports its decision concerning a runoff election to Latvian SSR Central Electoral Commission and informs the voters in the district. A runoff election in the electoral district is held within two weeks, with the observance of the requirements of this Law.

The person who is deemed to be elected is the candidate for election as Latvian SSR people's deputy who received in the runoff election the largest number of votes cast by the voters who took part in the voting, with respect to the other candidate.

If, as of the voting day, only one candidate remains in the electoral district, he is considered to be elected if he receives more than half the votes cast by the voters who took part in the voting.

**Article 56. Repeat election**

A repeat election is held:

- 1) if the election for the electoral district is deemed not to have occurred or to be invalid;
- 2) if, for the territorial electoral district, no more than two candidates ran and neither of them was elected;
- 3) if the repeat election did not make it possible to determine the elected deputy;
- 4) if, in a multiple-mandate electoral district, fewer deputies than the number of mandates were elected.

In these instances Latvian SSR Central Electoral Commission instructs the appropriate electoral commission to hold a repeat election in the electoral district or on the basis of free mandates. At such time the commission can make a decision concerning the need to have the ward electoral commissions in a new makeup hold the election. The voting is done in the same wards and on the basis of the voter lists that were prepared for conducting the general election.

A repeat election is held no later than two months after the general election. The formation of electoral commissions, the registration of candidates, and other measures are carried out in the procedure established by this Law.

**Article 57. Holding of an election of Latvian SSR people's deputies to fill vacancies**

In the event that the Congress of Latvian SSR People's Deputies deems the powers of individual Latvian SSR people's deputies to be invalid, and also in the event of recall of a deputy, the early cessation of the deputy's powers for other reasons, a new election is held in the appropriate electoral districts within three months from the moment that the deputy vacancy is created. The election is designated by Latvian SSR Central Electoral Commission no later than two months prior to the

holding of the election and is organized with the observance of the requirements in this Law. At such time, the time periods for the formation of the ward electoral commissions are established by Latvian SSR Central Electoral Committee, and the registration of the deputies ends a month prior to the election.

In the event that a vacancy for an Latvian SSR people's deputy is created less than a year before the expiration of the term of office of Latvian SSR people's deputies, there is no election of a new Latvian SSR people's deputies to fill the vacancy.

[Signed] Chairman of the Presidium of Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Secretary of the Presidium of Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet.

### Congress of Lithuanian Writers Meets

18001297 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
8 Jun 89 p 3

[ELTA report: "Extraordinary Congress of Lithuanian Writers"]

[Text] Vilnius, 7 June (ELTA)—The ninth extraordinary congress of Lithuanian writers convened today at the Palace of Workers in the Arts.

Opening remarks at the congress were made by Jonas Mikelinskas.

Vytautas Martinkus, chairman of the board, Lithuanian SSR Writers' Union, delivered a report on the draft regulations of the Lithuanian Writers' Union.

Prosaists, poets, translators and literary critics taking part in the debates spoke of the duty of the Writers' Union to express the ideas of humanism and democracy, to encourage and defend free literary creativity in all its variety and national originality, and to develop the native language; and, they introduced concrete observations and proposals on the draft of the regulations under discussion.

Valerionas Baltrunas, Lithuanian CP Central Committee secretary, delivered a speech at the congress.

"The history of culture bears witness, that the artist is the mind and conscience of the people," he stressed. "It is no accident that eight members of your society were elected as People's Deputies of the USSR. By virtue of your artistic convictions, you are called upon to formulate public and national consciousness, and to fight for the progressive transformations of the age. By ringing the bell of renewal, you are calling society together for unity, for good deeds and for noble ideals. Thanks to your efforts we are all learning more interesting things, we discuss the world and man, history and the legacy of our forebears with greater feeling, and we have begun to think of our legacy to the coming generations.

"The relationship between politics and artistic depiction of reality has been rather complex in all ages. And this has taken place in our state as well. It is worthwhile recalling the decrees of the VKP(b) Central Committee of 1946 on the magazines ZVEZDA and LENINGRAD. The policy dictated by these decrees caused great harm to Lithuanian art as well.

"Stalin and Zhdanov's diktat disrupted our literature too: pre-war Lithuanian literature was separated from the post-war, and literature created here in Lithuania was cut off from the creativity of immigrants from Lithuania. Therefore we should welcome the fact that the Writers' Union has begun to unite the Lithuanian writers scattered throughout the world. It is worthwhile giving some thought to the Lithuanian writers' forum held in Lithuania as well. It goes without saying that those taking part in such a forum would be divided by creative principles and ideological views, but they are united by their native language and the land of their forebears. We must be together; for the Lithuania which is being born again needs all of us.

"Last year the CPSU Central Committee overturned the notorious decree of 1946, declaring it erroneous. We intend to follow this example and have, accordingly, taken up the report of the CP(b) Central Committee Secretary K. Preykshas as well, which he delivered at the general meeting of writers of Soviet Lithuania held 1 October 1946. As is well-known, this report directed gross, unfounded accusations at our talented writers. And one cannot say that the echoes of that period are not felt today.

"We support the idea of an independent Writers' Union and are ready to render it both moral and material support. Let our literature work for the good of Lithuania and its people," said Baltrunas in conclusion.

Also addressing the question of the independence of the Lithuanian Writers' Union at the congress was Deputy Chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers Pyatras Ignotas.

The report of the credentials committee was approved.

The congress accepts the regulations of the union, in which it is written that the Lithuanian Writers' Union is a voluntary and independent organization of prosaists, poets, dramatists, translators, literary critics and literary specialists.

Resolutions were adopted by the congress. It was decided to send telegrams to the Presidium of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and to the deputies from the Lithuanian SSR taking part in the Congress.

The participants sang the Hymn of Lithuania.

Taking part in the extraordinary congress of Lithuanian writers were Yustas Paletskis, chief of the ideological department, Lithuanian CP Central Committee, and other responsible party and Soviet officials, ministers, and the chiefs of creative organizations and publishing houses.

### **LiSSR Trade Unions Debate Autonomy Within USSR Framework**

*18280150 Moscow TRUD in Russian 2 Jul 89 p 2*

[Article by social and political affairs writer Vladimir Pisarchik, Vilnius—Moscow: "The Matter Will Out..."]

[Excerpts] **Published in the weekly LIYETUVOS PROF-SAYUNGOS (LITOVSKIYE PROFSOYUZY) was the program of the initial actions of the restructuring of Lithuania's trade unions, which had been adopted at the joint plenum of the republic's council and committees, which took place on the eve of May Day. [passage omitted]**

#### **A Measure of Independence**

I had not been in Vilnius for almost two years. If one talks about external changes, they are not evident. It is true that the republic's national flag is flapping on Gediminas Tower in place of the union republic flag. But, indeed, it is no accident that a constituent congress of the international republic movement, Yedinstvo, which emerged as a counterbalance to Sajudis, took place recently. What about the rumors? What about the newspapers, which barely mentioned the fact that Lithuania has established a customs service at the internal borders? In a word, without being a hypocrite, I admit that I came to Vilnius with a certain alertness.

Of course, the impressions from a short trip to the republic can hardly be profound and it is precisely for this reason that the openness of the people I talked with and the goodwill of people I did not know turned out to be so important. All this is so—I am not lying. But I will not start smearing the lenses of my glasses: the problem of national self-assertion is currently on the minds of the majority of the republic's inhabitants. For all this, despite the fact that the discussion of the program of the Lithuanian trade unions' initial actions was interesting, it was also calm. The exception was caused only by the sixth point of the first section. I will cite it:

"The decrees and decisions of the AUCCTU and the Central Committee of the sectorial trade unions may have for Lithuania's trade unions only a recommendatory nature and are binding only after the approval of the republic's council and committees."

The drafting committee suggested it be adopted with somewhat different wording but the audience insisted on this wording and, having secured this, burst out with a storm of applause.

Let us try to reflect on this a little: what is the matter and what will happen now? We will begin with the answer to the second question.

We will note right off that the AUCCTU plenum has the right, if, of course, the question is submitted for its consideration, not to adopt this provision of the Lithuanian trade unions' program, as it contradicts the Charter of the USSR Trade Unions. Naturally, the plenum also has the right to adopt any other solution.

I personally, being somewhat pedantic, would vote for the first solution, in any case, until the existing charter is changed. I think that a more balanced proposal would be the one about revising the Charter of the USSR Trade Unions, inasmuch as there is sense in the very idea of an independent approach to problems and, indeed, only a few administrative solutions possess the quality of universal suitability for any local conditions.

It will be useful, perhaps, to recall that the AUCCTU, during the perestroika process, already by the present day, has taken a greater number of realistic steps for the protection of the workers' interests than Lithuania's trade union organs have. It is also possible to talk about the portion of national income targeted for consumption, which has been increased at the insistence of the AUCCTU, and about the subsidies for the production of inexpensive goods for children and pensioners. The AUCCTU has submitted to state organs proposals regarding the procedure for settling labor disputes and the abolition of so-called "blacklists"—the notorious No 1 and No 2 lists and others.

But, strictly speaking, this has no bearing on the matter at hand. It needs to be looked into.

First, to separate. There are decisions of the AUCCTU—the elective organ—in which, incidentally, the Lithuanian trade unions are represented on an equal basis. And there are decisions which are born in the depths of the AUCCTU apparatus. It is also well known that some of the latter actually cause trouble locally. But—obedience must be in the genes in the majority of us, probably, because they are carried out...

This is the very reason why I would personally reproach this obedience and support the "sixth point."

Second. Today, to a certain degree, the leaders of the Lithuanian trade unions' council and committees are not free in their own actions. The majority of the republic's trade union workers know well the phrase expressed by one of the leaders of the "Worker's Union." It goes something like this: "It is clear to everyone that the trade unions have sinned. But, whether or not these sins are mortal ones—we shall see from the trade unions' conduct."

"If we want to survive, we should remember thus constantly," as L. Kvetkauskas confessed to me frankly.



It would be bragging not to take note of the fact that the ideas of some of the Sajudis supporters regarding national independence—and not just economic independence—are circulating in the republic and this can not be disregarded by Lithuania's trade union workers in their own activities.

A day after the plenum, I put a direct questions to L. Maksimovas, the chairman of the Lithuanian Republic's Trade Unions Council:

In my opinion, the sixth point of the adopted program is a concession to the informals. Indeed, internationalism is intrinsically characteristic of the trade unions. To the worker, it is all the same, what kind of bureaucrat pressures him—a Lithuanian or one from the "center"...

It is necessary to state that, at the plenum, this thesis was illustrated by R. Maslaukė, a member of the republic's communications workers trade union committee. She said: "I support the proposal regarding the trade unions having the right to suspend the decisions of the state organs. Here is an example. The communications workers lost 45 million rubles of profit because of the decree of the republic's government about limitations on the goods which may be sent parcel post. But why should the communications workers suffer? Then let the government compensate us for our losses."

But, we will return to L. Maksimovas.

In answer to my question, Lenginas Kirillovich talked about the fact that those who worked out the program, in general, did not fix attention on this point and, to some degree, were even taken back by the degree of significance it was given by the plenum's participants.

"Although," he acknowledged when we had already said our goodbyes, "you are probably close to the truth."

On the other hand, I think that L. Maksimovas is correct in stating that the program's central point is not the sixth one.

Today, the trade unions are being accused of all the deadly sins. Where they are truly guilty and where the accusations are absurd is a theme for a separate discussion. But, it is evident that the difficult period of self-cleansing for the trade unions and the basic restructuring of their activities is still far from over. And, as life shows, you cannot make the distinction, as they say, that the trade union functionaries in Moscow are bad and the ones in Vilnius are good. A fresh example which speaks for itself. One of the recent department chiefs of the AUCCTU, A. Silin, as a result of the competitive elections, became chairman of Latvia's Trade Unions Council.

As a journalist who specializes in the theme of trade union affairs, I can state with certainty: Because the plenums of the trade unions' councils and committees

are now being conducted in the national languages in many regions, affairs in the local organizations, unfortunately, have not turned out better. The problems generated by the removal of state control over the trade unions and their years-long subordinate position are approximately identical everywhere and differ only in particular details. And the goals, regardless of the "place of registration" of the trade union workers, are the same in principle. For this reason, I think that the path to renewal has no forks in it.

And, in my opinion, all the same, it is not a matter of one or another of the points in the document adopted by Lithuania's trade unions. I think that L. Kvetkauskas was 100 percent correct when he said approximately so at the plenum:

"It is not a matter of the routine program. There were many of them—and good ones! The main thing is to carry them out and not attempt merely to paint the rusting bureaucratic vehicle a new color..."

This is, apparently, where the central direction of the reflections and searches is...

#### **Lithuanian Civilian Planes, Helicopters Now for Hire**

18000833 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 13 Apr 89 p 3

[Article by V. Burbulis, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondent: "Aircraft for Hire"]

[Text] Vilnius—The Lithuanian Civil Aviation Directorate is offering an unusual new service—flying machines—airplanes and helicopters for hire.

Complete self-sufficiency, which was implemented on 1 January, has forced the directorate's managers to hurriedly seek new modes of operation. The situation has become serious, especially with regard to light aviation. For example, up until now the volume of work in treating fields with fertilizers and chemicals constantly increased. The directorate ordered more and more airplanes and helicopters and built airfields. However, recently the situation began to change drastically—the ecological movement is gathering strength. For example, in 1987, 1.8 million hectares of fields in Lithuania were treated using aviation, but current orders do not exceed half a million hectares.

The Civil Aviation Directorate was thrown into a tizzy. An exodus of experienced personnel began.

Of course, one could choose the easiest way: to write off or sell unnecessary equipment. But in this case it was decided to act in a different manner. And so recently advertisements appeared in the newspapers stating that

enterprises, organizations, cooperatives, and "individuals" can get an airplane or helicopter for hire or on lease. One can sign a long-term contract with the directorate or submit an application valid only for one occasion.

G. Lyakhov, chief of the Lithuanian Civil Aviation Directorate related,—The response has exceeded all expectations. There has been a multitude of applications. Several helicopters have went to Sakhalinsk for the purpose of transporting security guards. A lease contract on three helicopters to be used for patrolling the forests has been signed with Pezetel, a Polish enterprise. Our AN-2 aircraft are already operating in Rostov oblast. There are orders from concert groups and theaters to deliver artists on tour to various locations in the country. Members of cooperative societies and "individuals" are hiring airplanes to transport their products. Operations under the new conditions of self-sufficiency have already borne fruit. The volume of work has been maintained at the previous level, but earnings have increased almost by one-third.

And there is still another novelty. A society of aeronauts using the hot-air balloons and dirigibles of Lituanik has been established in Lithuania. The aviation industry has offered its services. A school for aeronauts has been opened at the civil aviation directorate's training center. Twenty persons from Lithuania, Moscow, Leningrad, Kursk, and Novosibirsk are studying in the first group of students.

### **Veps Struggle for Ethnic Recognition**

18001263a Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 14 May 89 p 3

[Article by T. Marina: "The Veps—What Lies Ahead For Them?"]

[Text] This incident will be remembered in our village for a long time. The Ozerskoy Sovkhoz somehow arranged an excursion trip to Estonia for its workers, and there was a stopover in Narva to see the sights of the city. The excursion leader, explaining the origin of the word "Narva," said that it meant "waterfall" in translation from the language of an extinct people, the Veps. The reaction of his listeners was only to be expected since most of the people who live and work in the Ozerskoy Sovkhoz of Podporozhye are Veps. "That's who we are!" they cried. "We're not extinct yet!" The excursion guide expressed his chagrin.

This passage is from a letter written by V. F. Yetoyeva in response to an article that appeared in LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA on 11 January entitled "Regarding the Veps: Do We Care Only For Exotica?" It expresses a sense of anguish for a people whose history spans the century and whose fate is threatened with extinction. This sense of pain and foreboding is reflected in most of the letters received in response to this article.

Among the authors are not only people concerned in one way or another with the lot of the Leningrad Veps community, but also those who live in Veps settlements in Karelia and Vologda Oblast. We received letters from Murmansk, Estonia, and even from the Far East.

The main thought in these responses may be expressed in the words of one of the writers, O. M. Lukashovoy: "It is good that the newspaper has raised a serious problem in the field of nationality relations. And it is vital to the further advancement of democratization in our society. Democratization and keeping quiet about existing nationality problems are mutually exclusive things."

The article reminded A. A. Zaytseva of the best years of her life. She writes: "I passed these years in the Veps village of Sheltozero. It is impossible to describe everything, but I want to say one thing. Whoever lives here a year or more will not forget this fantastic region. Its principal wealth is its people. Never will I forget Alexander Nikonov, who led the Veps National Chorus in Sheltozero. He managed to unite a group of young people of diverse nationalities. Everybody who lived among the Veps considered it a duty to understand the language of the local residents."

N. F. Makarov, a candidate of historical sciences, also writes about that same source of wealth—the people. He himself is not a Veps by nationality, but he regards the lands of the Veps as a second home. He learned the language, the songs, the poetry, and the marvelous folk tales by studying with the Veps children in the Nadporozhye Elementary School in what is now Lodeynopolskiy (formerly Oyatskiy) Rayon. Nikolay Fedorovich recalls how during the 1941-1942 winter blockade Veps farmers sent all the stores in the sovkhoz barns to Leningrad. They also slaughtered their personal cattle and sent the meat into the starving city. "I still have quite a few friends who are Veps," N. F. Makarov continues. "They are simple, in no way illustrious, people. Yet the names of many are well known to the area. There is Aleksey Semenvich Petrov, my first teacher; Vasiliy Vasilyevich Potapov, well known as a logger; party worker Ivan Pavlovich Terukhov; and there are many others. The Veps nationality is not specified in all of their passports. But each one traces his roots back to this culture. Do we not take a great wrong on our souls in cutting back these roots?"

History has long since shown that every issue of nationality requires extraordinarily diligent study. Any action in this area calls for extraordinary caution. Yet no caution was used in connection with the Veps. Here is a letter from the village of Oshta in Vologda Oblast signed by A. Maksimov and six other villagers: "We, Vologda Veps, in the 1950's, by means of threats and deceit, were moved out of our native villages and countryside. We were "centralized" in Oshta. Here, they resettled us in barracks of a camp formerly used for prisoners. The living conditions were monstrous. The water in buckets on the stove froze. We, who were then

children, slept on the floor. Our mothers feared we would be bitten by the rats. We spoke Russian poorly. Yet if we started talking in our own language, the children of other localities would call us names and beat us. We were not given passports, and we were forced to work at the kolkhoz for almost no pay. While we built up the kolkhoz in Oshka, our native villages and countryside became devastated."

This, evidently, is a recollection of the 1950's. But there are other, fresher recollections. In the early 1980's the director of the Karelian ASSR Museum of Area Studies sent an associate, Rurik Petrovich Lonin, to make a scientific survey of Veps villages in Leningrad Oblast. In the village of Vinnitsy in Podporozhskiy Rayon, Lonin found a local library. The head of it, Galina Akspileytov, was a Veps by nationality and a native of the village of Ladva. After becoming acquainted, they fell into conversation. Galina was distraught. "Our passports in Vennitsy are now being altered," she explained. "All Veps must be registered as Russians." Further on the route of Rurik Petrovich was the village of Shondovich, where he stopped for the night in the home of the Lukins. Anastasiya Lukin, mistress of the house, told him the same thing: "I went to get a new passport, and in it the nationality is listed as Russian, though I hid from no one the fact that I am of Veps extraction."

"I wrote a letter to PRAVDA," relates Rurik Petrovich, "and received a reply from the passport department of the Main Administration of Internal Affairs of the Leningrad Oblast ispolkoms. The deputy chief of the department wrote as follows: 'The explanation is that in issuing passports of the new type, the nationality of people remains unchanged.' But, of course, this so-called explanation contradicts the facts. Not surprisingly, researchers confirm the fact that during the time it took to exchange passports on a mass scale more than 4,000 Veps were 'lost.' If the matter of possible autonomy should come up and the organization of a Veps okrug be discussed, then the place to start in my opinion is with putting their passports in order."

The possibility of autonomy and establishing a Veps national okrug has indeed been discussed, both at an inter-departmental regional conference on the problems of Veps, which was held in Petrozavodsk last fall, and in the Council for the Preservation and Development of the Cultures of Ethnic Minorities of the Soviet Culture Fund. Discussion of this subject also has received the vigorous endorsement of our readers.

Aleksey Pakhomov, a native of Podporozhskiy Rayon, who now resides in the city of Kondopog, writes: "To stop the process of assimilation of my people is possible, but the Veps must be preserved as a single, united people. It is necessary to consolidate the Leningrad, Vologoda, and Karelian Veps in one administrative whole—that is, an autonomous national okrug with a single administration. There will be more order. It will be easier to resolve economic matters. And there will be a real possibility of reviving the Veps language and preserving the culture."

A married couple, the Maksimovs, consider educational activity among the Veps to be extremely important. They themselves are public educators. Aleksandr Pavlovich is director of the Sheltozersko Museum of Veps Culture. Rosa Fominovichna is director of the Sheltozersko Secondary School, where three years they began to teach the Veps language—the only school to do so. Both are active participants in the Veps National Chorus. This is what troubles the Maksimovs:

"Sometimes the feeling arises that we are in some kind of a vacuum without any relation to the outer world. Everything is kept up by volunteers, without the support of the rayon soviet or the local party committee. This is the attitude shown to Veps volunteer educators among us in Karelia and, we know by more than hearsay, in Leningrad and Vologoda oblasts. It is as if the higher-ups had forgotten about us. Or else discussions of Veps problems are held without any broad participation on the part of Veps. Take, for example, the study of language in our school. The written language, as you know, has been lost. We teach both children and adults the oral, spoken language. But the time has long since come to revive the written language. For this we need an alphabet. Debates have been going on for a long time in academic circles as to whether we should use the Roman or Cyrillic alphabet. Over the decades the Veps have succeeded in becoming accustomed to the Cyrillic alphabet, which is closer to them; whereas scholars are of the opinion that the alphabet should continue to be, as it was in the past, Roman. The controversy goes on. Meanwhile, time passes, and the people who can speak the Veps language become fewer and fewer."

Several readers see the solution of their residential problems and their ultimate fate in settling the issue of autonomy. Here is a letter from three Veps families—the Lukins, the Kudrovs, and the Samoylovs. "You think that we, Veps by ethnic origin, would not go back to the land of our fathers? We would if there was any prospect of a prosperous future. But none can be seen. The Veps sovkhoses continue to deteriorate. Yet we are sure that if a Veps autonomous okrug should show up on the map, it would force a more vigorous solution of national, social, and economic problems. And not only that. The very fact of Veps autonomy would attract the return of many Veps who have gone to the ends of the earth. We, too, would start to pack our bags!"

O. M. Lukashov, whose letter was one of the first we cited in our survey, concludes his thoughts as follows: "Right now articles about the Veps roll like a wave across the pages of newspapers and journals. Still, doubts and misgivings arise that, if you will pardon a crude expression, there is too much "shooting off at the mouth" about this subject. Amid all the oh's and ah's over a people that is disappearing, let us not forget the main thing—that the Veps need, more than anything else, the support of the party rayon political and executive committees, the oblast executive committee, and the RSFSR Council of Ministers."

As for the RSFSR Council of Ministers, it has reviewed the proceedings of the inter-departmental regional conference "The Veps: Problems of Economic and Cultural Development Under Perestroika," which was held last October in Petrozavodsk, and has instructed the ministries and departments to review the issues set forth and resolve them in the best interests of the Veps people.

Moreover, the recently established Commission for the Socio-Economic and Cultural Development of the Veps People of the Leningrad Oblast party executive committee has been called upon to defend the interests of the Leningrad Veps community. V. V. Pylin, oblast executive committee secretary, is chairman of the commission, and its members include representatives of the Veps people living in the north-eastern regions of the oblast, as well as senior officials of the oblast executive committee.

Thus the first step has been taken.

### Census Shows Moscow Growing

18001263b Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 May 89 p 1

[Mosgorstat report: "The Moscow Department of Statistics Reports: How Many, Who, Where?"]

[Text] According to the population census, as of 12 January 1989 there were 8,967,000 persons living in Moscow. This constitutes 6.1 percent of the population of the RSFSR and 3.1 percent of the population of the country. The number of Moscow residents increased during the past 10 years by 830,000 persons or by 10.2 percent. The republic population during the same period grew by 7.2 percent. This increase in the urban population occurred primarily through the migration of 676,000 persons recruited for work by enterprises and organizations. The natural growth of the population amounted to 154,000 or 19 percent.

A breakdown of census data by rayons reveals an unequal distribution of the population in terms of territory. Fourteen rayons have a population under 200,000 persons; 13 have populations of from 200,000 to 400,000 persons; whereas in Kirovskiy, Krasnogvardeyskiy, Perovskiy, Sovetskii, Timiryazevskiy, and Cheremushkinskiy rayons, the population density exceeds 400,000 persons. The population of the central rayons declined during the past 10 years.

According to the census data, males comprise 45 percent, females 55 percent, of the population; that is, an average of 1,221 females for every 1,000 males. The ratio reflects the higher death rate of the male population together with the greater number of male deaths occurring during the war years among older age groups. A gradual reduction in this ratio has taken place in recent years. According to the 1959 census, there were 1,346 women per 1,000 men; according to the 1970 census, 1,272 per 1,000; according to the 1979 census, 1,256 per 1,000.

All who wish more detailed census information on the city and rayons may call the Moscow Department of Statistics information service by telephone at 927-20-03.

### More TV Programs in Chukchi Language

18001188a Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Jun 89 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "In the Natives' Tongue" from Anadyr]

[Text] Recently, the Anadyr television station has doubled the number of its broadcasts in the languages of the ethnic groups of the North.

The news and musical program in the Chukchi language "Egyyskii" is especially popular among the locals.

The program offers viewers the local news of the autonomous district and introduces them to the district's best citizens. Chukchi and Eskimo songs, instrumental pieces and dancing music are performed by the Chukchi and Eskimo band "Ergyroi" and by folk groups from native villages. Television journalists do not neglect those who wish to learn the language of the native population of the Far North: for them, the studios regularly broadcast Chukchi language lessons.

### Threat to Kalmyk Lake

18001188b Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 2 Jun 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "They Fertilize the Lake"]

[Text] Yashalta, Kalmyk ASSR—Several years ago, lake Many-Gudilo, the largest in Kalmykia, was famous for its sea roach, bream, perch and sazan. The local state fishery plant employed some 30 fishing crews. Today, only a memory of it remains. Both the fish and the fishermen are gone.

The story of the wondrous lake, which once was part of the trade route between the Black and Azov Seas and the Caspian, is typical of our times. Farms in Ipatovskiy, Apanasenkovskiy and other rayons of the neighboring Stavropol Oblast, where agriculture is dependent on intensive irrigation, began dumping their wastewater, which is high in mineral content and saturated with nitrates, into the Many-Gudilo. Almost all life perished there. And yet, it is a state natural preserve, the only habitat in the country of some rare bird species listed in the Red Book.

Forget the lake. Poisonous wastewater, flowing through defected drainage systems, caused along the way salinization and stagnation on pastures which used to be the main source of feedstocks for Kalmyk cattle growers. Many thousands of hectares of fertile land of the farms in Yashaltinskii and Gorodovikovskii Rayons had to be abandoned.



"We used to harvest up to 2,000 tons of excellent hay here, but we now cannot get even a tenth of that," told M. Kuzmenko, chairman of the Yashaltinskiy Rayon "Pobeda" kolkhoz, to a TASS correspondent. "The same situation exists at neighboring farms. But the future is even bleaker: the Stavropol people are rerouting their main drainage canal into the Bolshoy Burukshun pasture, which is adjacent to several farms in our and the neighboring Gorodovikovskiy Rayons. Something must be done, and done immediately."

Incidentally, the ever-increasing area of irrigated land in the neighboring Stavropol Oblast rayons is not the only threat facing the fertile soil of Western Kalmykia, which used to be under the Caspian Sea. The Gorodovikovskiy reservoir, which also borders on them, will irrigate 18,000 hectares of land and dump wastewater in the same area the Stavropol system does.

The concern of Yashalta and other farmers was fully shared by many participants of the meeting of the scientific coordinating council for utilization of natural resources of Kalmykia and the Lower Volga and Caspian region, which was recently held in Elista. A real statewide commitment is needed to save the fertile soil and waters of this drought-prone steppe region.

**Observation of Volcano Delayed by Bureaucrats**  
*18001188c Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in  
Russian 4 Jun 89 Second Edition p 6*

[Article by S. Sagtaganov: "One Flew Over a Volcano"]

[Text] Sakhalin—SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA has already reported the unexpected eruption of lava on Iturup, an island of the Kuril Chain. For the first time in living memory, Ivan the Terrible, the volcano located in the middle of the island showed its temper. Recently, our correspondent, together with a group of meteorologists and other scientists, visited the site. An unexpected result of this aerial tour over the volcano was concern about the reliability of the existing system of interaction between various government agencies during natural disasters.

Captain O. Savvateyev executed a smooth about-turn to the left and our AN-26 aircraft flew toward the fire-breathing mountain. From its top, clouds of heated gas erupted while its slopes on the ocean side were covered with a dark layer of ash.

These details, which to the outsider are merely a picturesque sight, had much to tell to the experienced observer of the volcanos. However, G. Shteyneberg, senior researcher of the USSR Academy of Sciences Far East Branch's Institute of Geology and Geophysics, did not rush with conclusions. He would have to compare what he saw with the observations of his colleagues who landed on the island soon after the first reports of the eruption.

The mood among residents of the population centers nearest to the volcano could be gauged by the fact that some locals went to bed fully dressed, holding on to their papers and valuables. The rumor about the Japanese radio's announcement that a massive explosion of the Ivan the Terrible was expected on May 15 spread like wildfire. Later, there was talk of impending evacuation of the town of Goryachiye Klyuchi and other extraordinary measures.

The eruption heated up thousands of people so much that the scientists who came to the island were subjected to a real avalanche of questions at numerous meetings organized by the local ispolkom. Although the arrival of the experts eased some pressure, concern was not fully alleviated. The main issue remained unclear: what to expect of the awakened fire-breathing mountain?

The Sakhalin scientists could answer that question only after flying over the volcano; they had no other way of assessing such natural phenomena. But here is the paradox of this age of hide-bound bureaucracy: the scientists had to beg for the permission to fly over the volcano for four full days.

But maybe the delay was due to the special secret status of the region? "What secrets?" senior researcher V. Ostapenko, the leader of the volcano landing party, asked indignantly. "We saw with our own eyes how a fishing inspector was taken to the site by helicopter from the same landing pad. But all requests by the rayon ispolkom and the scientists received the same reply: 'We've got no orders.' I think that the strategy here is plain: it is indifference on the part of certain high-ranking officials to the fate of thousands of residents of Goryachiye Klyuchi. But the town is located only 12 kilometers from the volcano. If there were a major eruption, it would be hit by falling stones and ash."

What should town residents do? During the current eruption, they had quite a scare. What would happen next time? Even the scientists could not answer this question definitively. And let me remind you that the reason for it was not shortcomings in scientific methodology or lack of knowledge about the nature of the dangerous phenomenon. The main difficulty was different: the island region, which has 39 active volcanos, still lacks a consistent system of timely forecast and permanent observation of fire-breathing mountains.

As we have seen, the system of interaction by various services meant to ensure safety of the population is prone to breakdowns. It should be noted that employees of local ispolkoms saw it fully well themselves. Together with the scientists, they drafted an entire set of proposals. Another letter on this subject was sent to V. Novozhilov, the commander of the Far East military district. Now they are awaiting his reply, or...

Or the next eruption.

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